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FOI/PA# 1346892-0

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Ben Haythorn  
RE 537 3-15-61

## Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : The Director

FROM : Mr. D. M. Ladd *pl*

SUBJECT: BEN BAGDIKIAN

DATE: May 19, 1951

Tolson ☒

Ladd ☒

Clegg ☒

Glavin ☒

Nichols ☒

Rosen ☒

Tracy ☒

Harbo ☒

Belmont ☒

Mohr ☒

Tele. Room ☒

Nease ☒

Gandy ☒

PURPOSE:

To answer your inquiry "What do our files show on Ben Bagdikian? H."

RESULT OF SEARCH:

A search of the Bureau indices did not disclose any reference to an individual with the name of Ben Bagdikian.

A search on variations of this name disclosed information concerning one Reverend Aram T. Bagdikian, Armenian-born Worcester, Massachusetts minister, who, according to the Worcester, Massachusetts "Gazette," December 29, 1944, wrote an open letter to President Roosevelt protesting allotment of Lend-Lease Funds to Turkey. In this letter, Reverend Bagdikian asserted, "World War II will be followed by World War III, with more terrible destruction, if the Allies close their eyes at the peace table to the betrayals of the Turks." (100-7660-2676)

The files also contain information concerning a Bob Bagdigian of 745 South Solvay, Detroit, Michigan.

Bob Bagdigian was born in Turkey in 1892 or 1896 and in July, 1943, was working for the Army Air Force. He had previously resided at Whitinsville and Worcester, Massachusetts, where he had held odd jobs. He had also been employed from 1925 to 1935 and again in 1942, as a sweeper by the Ford Motor Company, Dearborn, Michigan. This individual's name appeared on a handwritten list headed "Names following on list borrowed from Mich. and Martin office Old Progressives." This list was furnished by Bureau Confidential Informant [redacted] at Detroit, Michigan, on September 24, 1949, but the significance of the list was not explained. (96-0-40186; 100-365456-1, page 20) b7D

ACTION:

None. Foregoing furnished for your information.

SE 18

RECORDED - 51  
INDEXED - 51

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JGL:jmr  
Per Ladd

60 JUN 21 1951

CRIME REC.  
Q

VPR



SAC, Boston

June 6, 1955

Director, FBI

BEN F. CASDIXIAN  
FIDELITY  
SPANISH (CIVIL RECORDS)

The Bureau is interested in identifying and obtaining background data concerning one Ben F. Casdixian who is the author of a series of articles released through the North American Newspaper Alliance which are currently appearing in the Washington, D. C., "Evening Star." Information available at the Bureau indicates that a person by the same name was a reporter with the Providence, Rhode Island "Journal-Bulletin" and it is also noted that the current Providence telephone directory contains a listing for Casdixian at 312 Morris Avenue.

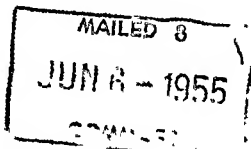
You are instructed to make a search of the indices of your office and to make a discreet check of appropriate credit records for information concerning Casdixian. The results should be submitted to the Bureau captioned as above by June 7, 1955.

Follow-up for June 10, 1955

cc - Mr. Nichols

NOTE: See Jones to Nichols memo captioned "Ben H. Bagg" dated 6-3-55. GMP:meh.

GMP:meh  
(6)



RECORDED-38  
SE 12

10 JUN 8 1955

RECEIVED RECORDS  
JUN 6 1955  
FBI

## Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : MR. NICHOLS *LBMc*

DATE: 6/9/55

FROM : W. G. EAMES *E*SUBJECT: BEN H. BAGDIKIAN  
62-94717

|            |       |
|------------|-------|
| Tolson     | _____ |
| Boardman   | _____ |
| Nichols    | _____ |
| Belmont    | _____ |
| Harbo      | _____ |
| Mohr       | _____ |
| Parsons    | _____ |
| Rosen      | _____ |
| Tamm       | _____ |
| Sizoo      | _____ |
| Winterrowd | _____ |
| Tele. Room | _____ |
| Holloman   | _____ |
| Gandy      | _____ |

*cy*  
Bagdikian has written a series of 6 articles captioned "What Price Security" which appeared in the Washington Star May 29 through June 3, 1955. In order that a complete set may be placed in his file, the attached clippings are being designated to go into his file as an enclosure to this memorandum.

RECOMMENDATION:

None. For record purposes only.

LML:bas

(3)

Enclosures (6) ENCL.

RECORDED - 54

INDEXED - 54

62-94717-3  
JUN 10 1955

4-LBMc

53 JUN 16 1955

Mr. Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mr. Boardman \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mr. Nichols \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mr. Belmont \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mr. Harbo \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mr. Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mr. Parsons \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mr. Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mr. Tamm \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mr. Sizoo \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mr. Winterrowd \_\_\_\_\_  
 Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mr. Holloman \_\_\_\_\_  
 Miss Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

## WHAT PRICE SECURITY?

# One in 10 U. S. Adults Faces Loyalty Checks

By BEN H. BAGDIKIAN

On the morning of August 18, 1947, the first of 2 million Government employees began lining up to have their fingerprints taken. Thus began the loyalty-security program to protect the Federal Government from infiltration by hostile agents and unreliable citizens.

Since that day the system has never stopped growing.

Today, the 2 million have grown to more than 10 million. One in every 10 American adults must now be investigated for his loyalty, ideas, associations, relatives and personal habits in order to keep his job. And if a bill now in Congress becomes law the number could be more than tripled.

This has been a new and sometimes wild experience for Americans. It was designed originally to eliminate Federal employees whose first allegiance might be to a foreign power. But it quickly became the focal point for some of the most bitter political combat in American history.

Yet the program has had some positive results.

It has eliminated some persons of questionable loyalty from government and defense plants. It has made it more difficult for known subversives to get in. It has rattled the arrogant plans of domestic Communists. And by precipitating decisions on national loyalty it has cost the Com-

First of a series of six articles on the Government's loyalty-security program.

munist Party membership and support.

It has also established a system for protecting secrets. And it has stimulated some prudence in spreading defense information.

But the Nation plunged into this new experience with scarcely a look at where it was going. Consequently, what protection loyalty-security programs have provided has come at unnecessarily high and sometimes disastrous cost. In places it has done profound damage to the very agencies it was supposed to protect.

Warnings have been given by men notably careful of their words. Dr. Vannevar Bush, who headed the country's wartime scientific effort, last year told a congressional committee that defense lagged a "year or two behind" because of security measures. Dr. James R. Killian, president of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, has said that present security procedures may be among the "most hazardous" threats to our military defense.

So far, such warnings have been largely ignored. A new thing in the United States, the security program continues to grow without study. Unlike normal protection against espionage and sabotage provided by agencies

Continued on Page A-6, Column 1

Wash. Post and Times Herald \_\_\_\_\_

Wash. News \_\_\_\_\_

Wash. Star \_\_\_\_\_

N. Y. Herald Tribune \_\_\_\_\_

N. Y. Mirror \_\_\_\_\_

Date: Aug 2, 1947

10-74-3  
 CLOSURE

# Loyalty Setup Mushrooms To Cover One in 10 Adults

Continued From First Page  
like the FBI and police, it does not detect illegal acts or plans or illegal acts. It screens all persons beforehand in an attempt to eliminate anyone who might under some circumstances commit such acts in the future. Five major categories of persons come under the program:

1. The 3 million members of the armed services.
  2. The 130,000 employees of the Atomic Energy Commission and its contractors.
  3. The 500,000 men at dockside under the port security program.
  4. The 2.3 million employees of the Federal Government.
  5. Between 3 million and 5 million workers in defense plants. But since President Truman inaugurated the Government program in 1947, loyalty-security tests have steadily overflowed into non-Government life. The entertainment business, for example, has an unofficial, unannounced and usually denied system for "clearing" public personalities and workers on security grounds. The professions, notably teaching, have adopted security tests beyond basic allegiance. Even the manual trades have entered the field.
- In Indiana, a boxer must take an anti-Communist oath before he can climb into the ring.
- On a local government level, some 500,000 employees of 14 states must be screened for loyalty-security as must thousands of municipal workers.
- This has brought into existence a small army of security police—investigators and administrators.

## Other Units Get in Act

The FBI and Civil Service Commission do most of the investigating of Federal employees. But eight other Federal agencies also do security investigations. To cover defense plants, the armed services, for example, maintain 164 regional offices with thousands of investigators watching 20,000 plants. But these clear only the 600,000 defense workers with top classification (secret and top secret). The more than 3 million defense workers with lowest clearance (confidential) are investigated by individual companies. This work is done by private detectives.

The range of knowledge, skill and wisdom among security officers and investigators is enormous. It runs from a minority of responsible and sophisticated agents among the more carefully selected and trained men, to performances that can only be described as ignorant.

As more and more persons have been added to those who must pass loyalty-security screening to hold their jobs, the number of grounds for excluding them has increased.

In 1941 the FBI was given funds to investigate suspected subversives among applicants for government work, with warnings not to question personal beliefs. In 1942 the Civil Service Commission began screening out persons already in government employ. In 1946 government workers were made subject to firing

not only known acts of disloyalty but for a "reasonable suspicion."

## Expansion in '51 and '53

In 1947, after startling revelations of successful Russian espionage, President Truman adopted the first extraordinary, government-wide program to eliminate subversives. In 1951 this was tightened to include those whose loyalty was doubted, a significant shift from suspicion of activity to a suspicion of personal belief.

In May, 1953, President Eisenhower greatly expanded the grounds for firing. As before, a man could be fired for loyalty reasons—Communist Party membership, subversion, espionage, or association with those doing it. But now he could be fired for security reasons—if, though loyal, he had relatives who might bring pressure on him, or if he had personal traits thought to make him insecure.

During this period, the "trigger" for full investigations of personal lives has been made more sensitive. One such provocation is the national agency name check, a review of Government files in the FBI, the House Un-American Activities Committee, the military services and similar agencies. If any "derogatory information" of any kind is in such files, investigators visit the neighborhoods, schools, and places of work in the entire life of the subject. Of the 4 million Federal employees checked by national agency files during the first four years of the program, 20,000 were given full field investigations.

## Files Growing

The number of files in the national agency check is growing. Contemplated is the addition of all names mentioned in a derogatory way during hearings held by Senator McCarthy, for example. Other planned additions are the files of local vigilante committees, like the Tenney Committee in California.

Another "trigger" for full field investigations is the body of congressional acts requiring all employees of certain departments to be fully checked, whether or not any derogatory information is known. In fiscal 1951-52 alone there were an estimated 100,000 full field checks done by congressional order (at a cost of more than \$200 each).

The tests applied become more stringent. One is the Attorney General's list of subversive and subversive-front organizations. When it began in 1947 it had 92 blacklisted groups. Now it has 275.

But plans for the greatest single expansion of loyalty-security investigations in American life are in Congress today. Officially, the bill is entitled the "Defense Facilities Protection Act." It applies to non-defense facilities. Although officials testified that they did not plan to use it that way, the bill would permit the executive branch to extend loyalty-security investigations to virtually every worker in private business and institutions in the United States.

**Tomorrow: Incompetence plagues security programs.**  
(Released by North American Newspaper Alliance)

## WHAT PRICE SECURITY?

# Real Danger of Red Plot Ignored in Loyalty Tests

By BEN H. BAGDIKIAN

In late 1948, a radio chemist answered a Government plea that he leave his private research job and return to the stepped-up atomic energy program he had left three years before. As he planned to resume his Government job the security system said he was a security risk because his old college roommate is an open Communist.

Two full years later the chemist was finally cleared, after ap-

Second of six articles on the Government's loyalty-security program.

peals and 24 months under an anguishing cloud. The fact was his old college roommate all that time had the highest clearance and was at work in an Atomic Energy Commission secret laboratory. The security officers had made a mistake in names.

A West Coast defense plant engineer was suspended as a security risk because he and his wife allegedly teamed to make street-corner Communist speeches in 1938. After a cumbersome appeal the engineer was able to perform the simple arithmetic omitted by security officers—in 1938 he was 45 years old, his wife 11 and they lived in different cities.

Men have been accused in security proceedings of:

Holding a degree from New York University.

Walking around their own houses without clothes.

Expressing an opinion that blood in blood banks should not be segregated by race.

Contributing to the United Jewish Appeal.

Being active in the Democratic Party.

Being "married" (while a lifetime bachelor) to a "Communist wife."

It would be folly to expect no mistakes in a system that processes information on the lives of 10 million persons. But incompetence and waste have plagued the loyalty-security system from the start.

There are several reasons for this. It is a new experience in American life and runs counter to the tradition of privacy, free expression and wide association. But the compromise of this tradition, made to meet threats of infiltration, was seized by exploiters who used the program to serve their own ends. For one thing, they used it to prevent healthy, normal criticism, leaving loyalty-security programs perhaps the most vast government undertaking without such criticism.

And, in the exploitation, international Communist agents have almost been forgotten in the rush to use "anti-communism" as a

See SECURITY, Page A-5

Mr. Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Boardman \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Nichols \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Belmont \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Harbo \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Parsons \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Tamm \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Sizoo \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Winterrowd \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Holloman \_\_\_\_\_  
Miss Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

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Wash. Post and Times Herald \_\_\_\_\_

Wash. News \_\_\_\_\_

Wash. Star \_\_\_\_\_

N. Y. Herald Tribune \_\_\_\_\_

N. Y. Mirror \_\_\_\_\_

Date: *11-17-50*

*12-9-50-7-3*

ASURF

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# SECURITY

Continued From First Page

weapon against domestic political opponents. As far back as 1941, for example, Representative Martin Dies insisted that FBI investigations of subversives include nudists and technocrats.

Thus, by 1947 when the first special program began, the terms "Communist" and "anti-Communist" had been used wildly against non-Communists for more than a decade, robbing the terms of much of their specific meaning. This helped obscure the real dangers of the international Communist conspiracy—which most of the exploiters consistently ignored.

One result has been that those governed by loyalty-security programs have expressed doubts to its fairness and sincerity. In 1952 a team of university sociologists polled employees in a dozen Government agencies on what they thought was the objective of the security program. The answers fell into three main categories: (1) to eliminate would-be spies; (2) to counteract liberal tendencies in Government; and (3) to promote partisan politics. They were asked who was most likely to get into security troubles. The answer: Those interested in social problems.

This is not necessarily how the system works, but how those governed by it think it works. It is of the utmost significance that these Government employees believe that the security system has ulterior motives.

Political exploitation has done much to destroy faith in the motives of security investigations, but so has the poor quality of investigators and officers.

Perhaps the largest body of competent investigators is the FBI, which conducts checks where loyalty is concerned. Eight other agencies also do security work. The Civil Service Commission does most of it, working with cases where personal reliability (security) are involved. The Army, Navy, Air Force, and Department of Treasury, Justice, State, Post Office, and Agriculture all use their own detectives for their own security checks using their own standards. All use agents who would not be acceptable to the FBI.

But perhaps the greatest errors are committed by private detectives working in defense plant cases, hired by individual industries who have to clear workers with access to confidential material. Many plants have turned to such reputable firms as Dun & Bradstreet. Although such agencies are notably competent to establish a man's credit, loyalty and security are different matters.

The "correctness" of personal beliefs, the significance of social and political ideas, and the meaning of professional associations are not subjects in which private detectives and agents

enjoy superior knowledge. Such agents frequently make reports—resulting in defense job rings—which would be dismissed by the FBI as inadequate or meaningless. Many detectives at work on security are even less qualified, work for agencies without the good name of national credit groups.

## Investigators Investigate

In fact, the security of investigators themselves has been questioned. Representative Francis E. Walter, chairman of the House Un-American Activities Committee, has said that military officers and FBI agents have lifted official secret files to take with them to political jobs. When the Atomic Energy Commission and Department of Defense were asked if any security officers had ever been suspended or dismissed as security risks, they declined to answer.

Of course, the agent's report is not the last word. Theoretically, it presents only facts. These are reviewed by a security officer and department head. The decisions of these men, in turn, are usually subject to appeal to a board. There is ample evidence that the best security investigators and officers are as subject to error and prejudices as any other human beings. Yet, failures to accept their findings at face value has often brought the charge of "softness on communism." Worse, the frustrated officers have bypassed the system and slipped their unevaluated information to congressional friends who used it for political attacks.

As a result, the typical Washington department head has come to fear espionage less and dirty politics more. It has become common to drop a man as a security risk not because he constitutes a danger to the Nation but because congressional figures could use information in the case to embarrass the department.

Powerful political figures have used the myriad fragments of security data to imply that massive disloyalty exists throughout the Government. How justified is this picture?

## 4 Million Checked

In the first four years of the security program, some 4 million men and women were checked and 378 dismissed after appeals. Another 6,000 resigned without appealing, some no doubt because of damaging backgrounds but others because appeals are anguishing and expensive. This record was called "softness on communism."

During the expanded Eisenhower program—with many of the avenues of appeal eliminated—some 8,008 persons have been dropped as "security risks." Of these, 2,096 left while there was "derogatory information" in their files relating to loyalty; 655 for sex perversion; 2,648 for felonies and misdemeanors; and the majority, 4,417, for allegations of undesirable personal traits such as gambling, sexual promiscuity, etc.

Thus, three out of four left for reasons entirely unconnected with disloyalty. The remaining 25 per cent were never submitted to higher adjudication which in the past had restored seven-eighths of such cases to their jobs.

Using its vastly more stringent standards for secret clearance, the Atomic Energy Commission since 1947 has investigated over 500,000 employees for Q-clearance. Of these, one-tenth of 1 per cent were denied clearance and less than 1 per cent resigned before a decision.

The campaign to portray America as honeycombed with traitors is plainly contrary to fact. It not only is false, but it hampers programs to detect real acts of disloyalty. J. Edgar Hoover, director of the FBI, has said, "Hysteria, witch hunts and vigilantes weaken internal security."

Tomorrow: Security vs. Science  
North American Newspaper Alliance

## WHAT PRICE SECURITY?

# Supersecrecy Slows Advance of Science

By BEN H. BAGDIKIAN

Today there is a physicist in a Government laboratory waiting to hear whether he is a "security risk" and therefore in danger of ending his professional career.

Six years ago he asked security officers whether his forthcoming marriage would affect his secret clearance. His fiancé had no security problem, but her parents occasionally associated with persons thought to be pro-Communists. The physicist planned never to see his in-laws after the wedding. The security officers assured him the marriage would not jeopardize his status.

Five years later the physicist suddenly had his clearance revoked. The charge: His wife's parents are believed to associate with alleged pro-Communists. The information against him was precisely that volunteered by himself and accepted by the Government. He has appealed at a cost to himself of about \$1,000 and approximately \$10,000 to the Government. He is still waiting for a decision.

Last year an aeronautical engineer who had worked for the Government for 14 years was suspended from his top secret project in Seattle, putting him out of a job and all but stopping the urgent project. The charge involved information he had given the Government in 1940, which had been investigated and cleared at least twice since then. After six months he was restored. The personal cost of the appeal to him was \$3,242.83, to the Government, six months' loss of time on an important defense project.

These are the kinds of cases that today are causing America's best young scientists to fear Government work. In 1953 a poll of science Ph.D.'s graduating from research universities showed them equally divided on where they would like to work, one-third each in Government, industry and universities. In 1954—after the investigation of Fort Monmouth and the case of Dr.

J. Robert Oppenheimer—a poll of ~~scientists~~ showed that the 33 per cent who wanted to work for the Government had dropped to 8 per cent. The chief reason given: security.

In fact, about half of all the new Ph.D.'s said they would prefer a lower salary to going through the present uncertainties of security practices.

The Nation cannot afford to discourage young scientists. At a time when its requirements for trained men were rising sharply, bachelor degrees in science have been dropping, 20 per cent in 1950-51, another 25 per cent the next year.

In four years all bachelor degrees in science and engineering have dropped from 80,000 to 34,000.

During this same period, Russia has been extolling the scholar and scientist and encouraging its best brains to go into research. In a few years, Russia will be graduating 80,000 engineers a year. Last year the United States graduated 19,000. And experts say it would be fatal to underestimate the growing quality of Russian engineers.

It is figures like these which led Dr. John R. Dunning, dean of the Columbia University School of Engineering to say, "We have almost lost the battle for scientific manpower."

Similarly, the Government as a whole cannot afford to encourage public contempt of highly trained, studious men, or "eggheads." The Federal establishment would collapse without them. Twenty per cent of all Federal employees are of profes-

sional rank, most of them with graduate degrees. Another 37 per cent are of top industrial skill. But while more than half are of top-grade talent, only 1 per cent of Government workers get \$9,000 or more. The legal limit for Civil Service is \$14,500 a year. It is precisely in these badly needed skills that the Government cannot compete with private industry in attracting talent.

## Secrecy Hit

Another factor in discouraging Government research is super-secrecy. It hampers not only the individual scientist, but at times the Government itself.

Recently, the Department of Defense completed a "secret" project. All that can be said of it is that it cost somewhere between \$10,000 and \$100,000 and took a number of senior scientists about a year to complete.

Unaware of the "secret" project, some non-Government scientists in a university did exactly the same work and published

Mr. Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Boardman \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Nichols \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Belmont \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Harbo \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Parsons \_\_\_\_\_  
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Mr. Winterrowd \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Holloman \_\_\_\_\_  
Miss Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

*File 64*

Wash. Post and Times Herald \_\_\_\_\_

Wash. News \_\_\_\_\_

Wash. Star \_\_\_\_\_

N. Y. Herald Tribune \_\_\_\_\_

N. Y. Mirror \_\_\_\_\_

Date: \_\_\_\_\_

ENCLOSURE



their results. The published results were seen by scientists everywhere, who criticized and used them to improve their own projects and push to new horizons. This demonstrates a number of things:

1. There is no such thing as a permanent secret of nature; 2. Any scientific discovery is a link to the future which, if kept secret, stalls the next step but does not prevent others from creating their own links; and 3. Safes, security officers and generals do not create new weapons like atomic bombs or defenses against them; only the "egg-heads" can do that.

Few scientists want abolition of secrecy in military research, but almost all make a distinction between tactical secrets (such as actual weapons designs, military plans, storage points of bombs, etc.) and secrets of nature (such as the basic information on matter which any scientist anywhere can work on).

#### No One Has Monopoly

The fact that no nation has a monopoly on research was demonstrated last year when fall-out ash covered a Japanese fishing vessel after a hydrogen bomb test at Bikini. The Atomic Energy Commission has not revealed scientific data on fall-out materials for fear it would tell something of materials in the bomb. But four months after Japanese scientists began their analysis of materials on the fishing vessel, they had published an open paper giving the elements involved, their proportions and the amount of radioactivity in each—more information than the AEC has published to date.

Another facet of secrecy keeps scientific facts bottled up in sealed compartments, giving each scientist only the information he needs in his own work. This is sound military doctrine on secrets, but it can be fatal to scientific progress. Some of the greatest advances have come from men who saw information they did not need in their own work, or at least thought so. The telegraph has been, for example, because a physicist, Alessandro Volta, in 1778 discovered a mistaken interpretation by Luigi Galvani of Galvani's own work. Under today's Government secret research rules, Volta would never see Galvani's data and discovery of the error would have been delayed.

Today a secret-cleared AEC scientist in Los Alamos has a laboratory problem. A friend in an Eastern university, also a secret-cleared AEC man doing AEC research thinks he has the answer but cannot question his

friend because in his own project he has no need to know details of his friend's work at Los Alamos.

Security measures, as typified in the Walter-McCarran Immigration Act, also impede scientific progress which in the past had been aided by friendly foreign scientists. Since enactment of the law about half of all foreign scientists applying have been forbidden to visit the United States. Some have contributed much to this country. Dr. Marcus Oliphant of England, for example, gave information on radar during World War II which the United States said was "probably the most important single item of reverse lend-lease." Yet, under the McCarran Act, Oliphant was not permitted to attend a non-secret conference here. Prof. E. B. Chain of England, codiscoverer of penicillin whose wartime collaboration saved hundreds of American soldiers, was not permitted to set foot on United States soil for a three-day visit.

Of the 12 men who headed the Los Alamos atom bomb project, half were foreign-born and thus of questionable clearance today. The leader, J. Robert Oppenheimer, was declared a security risk last year.

The combination of super-secrecy and distrust of scientists from friendly nations does not produce the strength which the United States depends on. This was only too clear in an incident during the building of the atomic submarine, the Nautilus.

At one time it was feared the sub would require extensive redesign because of "sleeping sickness," paralysis of its atomic engine by accumulation of a chemical xenon, whenever the engine stopped. The Government desperately needed basic information on the nature of xenon. A Canadian with top clearance in his native country's atomic project was brought to this country to do open research under an AEC grant.

#### —Couldn't Get Clearance

Being a Canadian he could not get American clearance, a fact that did not bother anyone until it was discovered that he seemed to have discovered certain reactions and equations which might apply to the "sleeping sickness" problem. But he could not be asked to apply his

reactions to American data because he was not permitted to know the American data.

A fairly high-level conference was held in New York. An elaborate plan was devised to have the Canadian apply his reactions to some dummy figures, while concealing the true American figures. But at the last minute a nervous security officer dismissed the Canadian from the room, fearful that some secrets might be disclosed.

This left the American data secret and secure. But it also left them useless. Fortunately, the Canadian's data was recovered later and the sub did not have to be redesigned. No one knows in how many other instances we are not so lucky.

Tomorrow: The case of Dr. John Punnett Peters.

(Released by North American Newspaper Alliance)



## WHAT PRICE SECURITY?

# Political Buccaneers Exploit Loyalty Setup

By BEN H. BAGDIKIAN

Two years ago Dr. John F. Peters of Yale was dropped as a security risk from his part-time job as adviser on a Government panel. It was a minor event lost in the national spectacle over internal security.

But his case may end the se-

Fourth of six articles on the Government's loyalty-security program.

curity system as it has operated for eight years.

The Supreme Court has agreed to review the case of Dr. Peters to see if he was deprived of constitutional rights, even though it has long been agreed that no one has a constitutional right to a Government job. Dr. Peters asserts that today the term "security risk" involves more than loss of a Government job. He asserts it also includes a livelihood, a profession or a place in society.

The original design of the security system was to provide department heads enough information to decide which citizens would be suited for Government work in times of international stress. No guilt or innocence was involved, no punishment, no deliberate effect on private life. This way, the Constitution presented no barrier. But political exploiters had other ideas.

## Program Exploited

Adventurers were quick to recognize that the security issue offered fame, fortune and political power. By spectacular exploitation, the original intent of the program has been changed until today the "security risk" label may cripple a man's position for a lifetime, despite the undisputed fact that the great majority of risk cases have nothing to do with loyalty.

Even in loyalty cases, no determination of legal guilt is involved. In 1949, for example, Dr. Peters was investigated and cleared. In 1951, his case was reopened, and this time he was charged with Communist Party membership, which he denied.

and, after a hearing, he was cleared again. In 1953, he was charged again. The appeal board did not know the identity of the accusers, or even if they had made the accusations under oath. Dr. Peters again denied the charges under oath and presented witnesses, including an ex-president of Yale. The Government presented no case. In June of that year he was dismissed as a security risk.

## May Kill System

If the Supreme Court decides that the Government should present a legal case, on the basis that the "security risk" label is too disastrous for a man to carry without legal safeguards, then the present security system will be ended. For this the critics of security cannot be blamed. The fault will lie with those exploiters of security whose sloppy methods, incompetent administration and harassment of innocent persons wrecked the only possibility of a fair and efficient program.

Confusion from high sources has not helped. Statistics show that the great majority of security cases involve no suspicion of disloyalty. Yet high officials have often given the public the impression that the term "security risk" involves treason. Postmaster General Arthur Summerfield referred to security risks in this manner: "Somehow I do not feel too amiably inclined toward people who make treason a preoccupation." Senator Joseph R. McCarthy, Republican, of Wisconsin, referred to security risks: "Almost all of them removed because of Communist activities or connections or perversion." Gradually the term has become a horrid label that can ruin men's lives.

The distortion of security has affected not only Government workers, but their bosses. It

has become difficult to handle security matters in a calm and sensible manner. Too often, when "security" enters the door, common sense goes out the window. This was demonstrated in the case of a Rhode Island industrial engineer.

## Doomed by White Lies

The engineer went to work at Quonset Naval Air Station, outside Providence, in 1948, and soon became a key man designing a badly needed jet overhaul building. He so impressed his superiors that they urged him to apply for a Civil Service promotion, which he did.

In his application he repeated certain exaggerations he had made about his past experience. In his original application for Civil Service he had said he earned \$6,000 while at Western Electric some years past, and that as a private consultant he had supervised as many as 1,000 men. The facts were that at Western Electric he had earned \$4,500 a year, and as a private consultant he had supervised nowhere near 1,000 men. Asked why he made the exaggerations, the engineer said he had wanted the job and that such "puffing" was almost standard in Civil Service circles.

The Civil Service Commission held up the promotion, charging "fraud" on the application. It withdrew the engineer's security clearance. The engineer's superiors in the meantime told him to ignore the matter, which appeared a minor administrative routine since there was no question of the engineer's ability or his accomplishments at Quonset. While he was a "security risk" the engineer was part of a key group testifying to a Navy bureau on a proposed Navy installation he had helped design.

Dickering between Civil Service and the engineer, with the local Navy superiors on his side, went on for four years after he had gone to work at Quonset. Then the engineer was ordered fired as a security risk.

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Date: JUN 1 1955

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### Not a Risk

He began a long series of trips to Washington, paying travel expenses for himself and his lawyers. But no one wanted to take responsibility for lifting a "security risk" label. Finally the Secretary of the Navy convened a special board which, after an extended hearing, declared that the engineer was not a risk and that he had been more than punished for his application statements. The board affirmed his contributions to naval air defense.

For the next year, the engineer could not get a job. He wrapped bundles and delivered packages. A full year afterward he found that Quonset was answering queries from prospective employers by stating merely that the engineer had been relieved of duty because he had lost his security clearance. The base did not say the clearance was reinstated.

The engineer spent more than \$4,000 on the case, has been out of engineering work for two years. A Federal court said it could do nothing for him.

The same hypertension about security moves it into more than irrelevant individual cases. It has moved it into irrelevant fields of research, such as in the curing of disease.

Sickle cell anemia, for example, is a congenial, weakening disease with no known cure. About a million Americans are susceptible to it. The research is entirely open. No secrets are involved.

Dr. Linus Pauling, of the Cal-

ifornia Institute of Technology, probably knows more about the basic blood problems involved than any other man. He is a former president of the American Chemical Society and last year's Nobel Prize winner. He is "controversial." The Russians have attacked his theory of resonance (explaining how molecules are held together) as "bourgeois." In this country, Senator McCarthy, Louis Budenz and others have said Dr. Pauling was part of the Communist conspiracy. Dr. Pauling has denied this under oath on several occasions, saying the accusations stem from the fact he is a pacifist and has signed every peace petition he could get his hands on.

Dr. Pauling was once refused a passport by the State Department (which relented when he received the Nobel Prize). The Voice of America once denied a French request to let Dr. Pauling be interviewed on a tape recording for interested Frenchmen.

More recently, Dr. Pauling applied to the United States Public Health Service for research grants to investigate sickle cell anemia. The Department of Health, Education and Welfare denied the grant. Secretary Oveta Culp Hobby said her department does not make grants for persons where there is "substantial information bearing on loyalty."

Such a policy, though, has been considered a device to protect agencies from political attacks, rather than against sub-

version. In some cases scientists with political enemies who have applied for grants for medical research have been told nothing by the Government but indirectly have been informed that they would do better if they applied for their academic department and left their own names off the application.

Shortly after Dr. Pauling was refused the Government grant for research on sickle anemia, the department of chemistry at the California Institute of Technology (chairman: Dr. Pauling) applied for the same grant, using names of two associates but omitting that of Dr. Pauling. The grant was quickly made.

Later the National Science Foundation, also a Government agency but with a different opinion, quickly granted money to Dr. Pauling in his own name.

In such cases, there is every evidence that the greatest loss is not to the individual, but to the Government and the public.

Dr. Henry M. Wriston, president of Brown University, has said:

"If a scientist is henceforth to be judged not by what he does scientifically, but what he does socially, if he is barred from things which he does superbly because of things he does not do well, we are setting curbs upon the progress of the United States for which all of us will pay a bitter, and it may be a fatal, penalty."

Tomorrow: The price our diplomacy pays.

(Released by North American)

WHAT PRICE SECURITY

# Diplomacy by Panic Muzzles Our Envoys

By BEN H. BAGDIKIAN

One of Hitler's major mistakes was to misjudge America's unity and war-making potential—a mistake encouraged by his foreign service agents, who were afraid to tell their government what they saw with their own eyes.

A major source of Russia's neurotic attitude toward the

Fifth of six articles on the Government's loyalty-security program.

free world appears to be her insistence that what exists in other countries is nonexistent if it disagrees with Moscow policy.

Today some of this fatal process has begun to weaken American diplomacy.

An American Foreign Service officer admits privately that even though he is supposed to be his Government's eyes and ears near the Iron Curtain, he is afraid to gain the confidence of sources close to the Communists for fear this might be used against him in some future security proceedings.

A career officer says he will no longer recommend anything contrary to the dominant policy at home, even if what he sees indicates the opposite.

## Policemen Take Over

Louis J. Halle, until last August a member of the State Department policy planning staff, has said:

"The Secretary of State has, in a few instances, at least, been given dangerous advice that he would not have been given if these pressures had not existed. . . . Security officers read the memoranda and make their own judgment. . . . By these indirect methods the policemen have gained some control over American foreign policy, a field in which they have no competence."

Political police officers in the State Department open personal secret files of top diplomats to read memoranda. It is the belief of career officers that the security officers are looking for "dangerous thoughts." True or not, the experts whose opinions are asked on serious problems believe it to be true.

Security officers also review all policy advice sent from foreign missions, a fact well known to men in the field. Speaking from personal experience one highly placed official said:

"It is amusing in a grim sort of way to see a good man describing a development with precision and skill and then finish with a recommendation that it is contrary to all the facts he has just reported."

## No Mischief Allowed

Another common practice which has demoralized State Department personnel is the minute investigation into sex lives of men whose jobs are wanted. Few family men want their early escapades to become a matter of public debate. In this way many top diplomats have been dropped.

The sincerity of some of these investigations was under doubt. Suspicions were not allayed when the Department Security Chief, R. W. Scott McLeod told an audience, "Sometimes it is extremely difficult to replace an individual whose viewpoint does not coincide with that of the Republican Party."

Curious standards have been used in judging highly specialized work. John Carter Vincent and John Paton Davies, Jr., two of the country's top diplomatic experts on China, were dismissed after being accused of showing "poor judgment" in opinions they had been asked for on Chinese affairs. The board members who decided the judgment had been poor had no experience in Chinese affairs.

The sincerity of charges has been suspect on other grounds. Oliver Edmund Clubb, another expert on China dropped by the department, was once charged by security officers of having made a "slightly pink" report from Shanghai in 1938. The report was in the official files, which apparently, the security officers had not bothered to look

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N. Y. Mirror \_\_\_\_\_

Date: JUN 2 1953

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at. Mr. Clubb submitted it as evidence. It definitely disproved the charge. A similar charge against Mr. Davies also was refuted with his own report, which security officers had not looked at at first.

The obsessive pursuit of security at any cost has extended to political affairs outside of Government.

One of the major sources of information and advice used by the Government to chart the affairs inside Russia are the various Russian study centers at American Universities. From such places come the Government experts who study Russia as well as special analyses requiring scholarly resources outside the Federal establishment. The main source of information for such study centers is Russian publications. Today customs delays or destroys such publications. At Columbia's Russian Institute, for example, one-third of all its Russian material is regularly held up by customs—about 1,000 publications a month—and some of it burned. Often when it finally arrives it is too late to do any good.

The customs inspector has been made personally responsible that no "unauthorized" American see Russian propaganda, including Soviet reports on its economy, science, budget, etc. Customs translators cannot always read every new publication, sometimes burn the backlog to make room.

#### Post Office in Act

Now the United States Post Office has decided it will not deliver the major Russian newspapers, Pravda and Izvestia, to individuals in the United States, cutting off from individual students of Russia their major source of day-to-day news of what goes on inside the Kremlin and Soviet Union at large.

At the same time, foreign experts on Russia have trouble coming to this country to tell what they know. Within the last two years a planned international conference on Soviet affairs was canceled when it was realized that most of the foreign experts would have trouble getting visas under the Walter-McCarrahan Immigration Act, precisely because they were experts on Russia.

Dr. George Fischer, author and analyst of Russian affairs, had planned a course on Russian history at Brandeis University. He needed a Russian book by a 19th century author, copies of which were available only in Moscow. Customs held the books up six months. The course had to be canceled.

Referring to barriers by customs and the Post Office (which have offered scholars the opportunity to get their materials by registering as Soviet agents), Mr. Fischer says, "I'll just leave the field of Russian study. And I think most other men in my position will, too."

It has even been suggested that Communist themselves can take advantage of security measures to make the Government

hurt itself. Because the program so often has seemed to act thoughtlessly, moved by partisan politics, scapegoatism, puritanism and anti-intellectualism, it has been easier to eliminate men of loyalty and skill. Two-thirds of the top experts in the two most critical fields of American diplomacy against Russia—China and Germany—have been knocked out by the use of "security."

George F. Kennan, principal architect of the cold war and America's foremost expert on the international Communist conspiracy, has said:

"As things stand today, I can see no reason why malicious people should have any particular difficulty in rendering unavailable for service to this country almost any person whom they select for this treatment. All that is necessary is to release a spate of rumors and gossip and demands for investigation."

(North American Newspaper Alliance)

WHAT PRICE SECURITY?

# It Has Become a Hoax, Cruel and Dangerous

By **BEN H. BAGDIKIAN**

It is almost fashionable today to say that something is wrong with the machinery of internal security. But the basic problem is not the machine itself. It is its design, or, rather, the lack of it.

No official body has ever bothered to determine precisely what the machine is supposed to do and where it is supposed to stop.

To be sure, there is a general impression that the machine is supposed to protect tactical secrets and that it should keep foreign agents and unsuitable citizens from sensitive jobs.

But for several years panic over security has permitted the machine to wander over the national scene at the command of anyone with ambition to grab the controls, turning out results willy-nilly and threatening to become a kind of haphazard law of the land.

In the resulting confusion Government itself has been hurt, producing demoralization at precisely the time defense most depended on high morale.

But the effects have gone far beyond official agencies. Protection of secrets is a necessary but only secondary consideration in the world today. True national security must begin with a reservoir of talented, well-trained minds devoted to individual freedom. Without such a creative community only insignificant plans, mediocre machines and obsolescent secrets will ever need protection.

Because security has become involved in party politics, there would seem much to recommend a high-level, non-partisan commission. Its members might represent competence in foreign relations, science, jurisprudence, espionage, and civil liberties, among other things. Only then could the Government make intelligent basic changes.

Last of six articles on the Government's  
loyalty-security program.

Problems continue to exist outside of official procedure. For one thing, millions have fallen under the myth of "100 per cent security."

### Dangerous Myth

This myth is the basis for provisions in the Walter-McCarran Immigration Act which presupposes that America has more to gain from isolation. The myth also presupposes that the Government can guarantee perfect protection against disloyalty anywhere in the United States. The Government certainly should protect itself. But bitter experience shows that no government can buy perfect protection. Even more bitter experience shows that only a police state is designed to attempt such futile protection and that the attempt in modern times has always led to disaster.

Consequently, it has been said that the most profitable and effective internal security system is one that covers a well-defined, small area. This would seem important for philosophical reasons and practical ones, as well. There are not enough wise and knowledgeable security officers to watch everyone everywhere. The wider the coverage the more incompetence and the weaker the protection. Today the United States is drifting rapidly toward a general and diffuse security of doubtful effectiveness. The ideal of large numbers of men indicted—the policeman's dream—has tended to replace the ideal of many good men at work—the requisite for a successful modern democracy.

Improving the quality of se-

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Date: JUN 3 1955

*memo to include from June 11/11/55 4/1/55*

curity officers, defining their functions more carefully, and providing once again the superior appeal boards which would settle security differences between departments—all would help resolve some practical problems. Others remain.

Perpetual jeopardy has plagued security from the start. It stems chiefly from politics, which chooses its victims beforehand, then brings charges and presses them until they stick, regardless of how many times a man has disproved them. One suggestion has been a period during which a man's case cannot be reopened unless substantial new information against him is found.

Permitting a man to face his accusers would clarify many flimsy cases at once. The argument against it is that it would force the Government to reveal undercover agents who supply damning facts. This is true in some cases but probably only in a minority. Many unjustified and costly cases have been brought on the basis of unsworn testimony of persons whose unreliability or honest errors would be established at once if they were placed in the light of day. Anyone familiar with police work knows with what care a prosecutor sifts his evidence if he knows he has to produce witnesses—and the temptations if he does not.

#### Unevaluated Data

Use of unevaluated information might, except in rare cases, be banned. To suspend a man on the basis of an undocumented rumor can be unjust to him but also harmful to the Government as he is doing. Disciplined judgment of evidence is the best protection for both the individual and the Government.

Some measures might well be taken against public use of improved security information. If Government investigators demand the right to collect vast quantities of information about its citizens, it would seem both common sense and common decency to take more than token steps to prevent disclosure of gossip and loose recollection.

#### Too Cumbersome

A general return to personal attention to individual cases, instead of formal, cumbersome bureaucracy would do much to make security more effective. It would also provide a better detection of clever subversives (almost none of whom would be stopped by the political screening of formal security).

There is no justification for complacency about the security of the United States today. Neither is there justification for abandoning values that for 179 years have demonstrated to the world that a free and confident society is stronger than the toughest police state on earth.

No loyal person would argue with the official objectives of the security program. It would be one of the tragedies of history if the United States were to fall under control of the totalitarian Communist conspiracy. But it would be one of the ironies of history if the country unwittingly backed into a similar condition in the belief it was avoiding it.

(Released by the NANA.)



## Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Mr. Nichols

DATE: June 3, 1955

FROM : M. A. Jones

SUBJECT: BEN H. BAGDIKIAN

|            |   |
|------------|---|
| Tolson     | ✓ |
| Boardman   | ✓ |
| Nichols    | ✓ |
| Belmont    | ✓ |
| Harbo      | ✓ |
| Mohr       | ✓ |
| Parsons    | ✓ |
| Rosen      | ✓ |
| Tamm       | ✓ |
| Sizoo      | ✓ |
| Winterrowd | ✓ |
| Tele. Room | ✓ |
| Holloman   | ✓ |
| Gandy      | ✓ |

This is to advise you of the progress made in our efforts to identify captioned individual who is the author of a series of newspaper articles concerning the loyalty program released by North American Newspaper Alliance currently appearing in the "Washington Star."

Search of Bureau indices has been made with negative results. Search of Bureau Library reveals reference to a Ben H. Bagdikian mentioned on pages 50-52 of the January 11, 1954, issue of "Time" magazine. This individual is described as a reporter for the Providence, Rhode Island "Journal-Bulletin" who wrote the story concerning "Facts Forum" which is financed by H. L. Hunt the Texas oil man. Additionally, a person by the same name is listed as the author of the article "Rhode Island's Salty Doctor" in the June, 1953, issue of "Coronet" magazine and also the article "What Happened to the Girl Scouts?" in the May, 1955, issue of "Atlantic Monthly." The latter magazines are not in the Library. The "Time" magazine is attached.

A search of the indices of the Washington Field Office revealed no identifiable information.

Indices of the New York Office were negative but a credit bureau report from New York City reflects that a credit bureau in August, 1949, received an inquiry from Providence, Rhode Island, concerning Ben H. Bagdikian whose wife's name was Elizabeth. It was noted they had a charge account with Sachs Fifth Avenue in New York City in 1946.

confidential source of NY Office and Lou Gratz, Industrial Relations Manager, Time, Inc., was contacted by the New York Office and advised that Bagdikian is a reporter and since 1951, has been associated with the Providence "Journal-Bulletin" newspaper in Providence, Rhode Island. This individual is a free lance writer and does "on the spot" reporting for "Time." He was runner-up for the Heywood Braun Award for his outstanding articles on "Facts Forum" in the Providence "Journal-Bulletin." Latest information available to Gratz was that Bagdikian was with the Washington, D. C., Bureau of the Providence "Journal."

The current Providence telephone directory contains the listing Ben H. Bagdikian, 312 Morris Avenue.

Enclosures (2)  
cc - Mr. Nichols  
GMP:meb  
(6)

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(Serial [unclear] 6/15/55)

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Memorandum to Mr. Nichols

June 3, 1955

It is believed advisable that we have the Boston Office check their indices and conduct a discreet check of credit records at Providence for additional background information.

RECOMMENDATION:

*sent 6-6-55* That the attached letter be sent instructing the Boston Office to check their indices and records of the credit bureau for information concerning Bagdikian.

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## Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Mr. Nichols

DATE: June 16, 1955

FROM : M. A. Jones

SUBJECT: BEN H. BAGDIKIAN

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 Sizoo ☒  
 Winterrowd ☒  
 Tele. Room ☒  
 Holloman ☒  
 Gandy ☒

SYNOPSIS:

You will recall Bagdikian is author of series of articles which appeared in Washington Evening Star re loyalty program. Information developed at Bureau indicated Bagdikian reporter for Providence "Journal-Bulletin" newspaper and Boston instructed June 6, 1955, to check indices and credit records re Bagdikian. SAC, Boston under dates of June 8 and 10, 1955, advised indices that office contained no references identifiable with Bagdikian. Credit Bureau records identified Bagdikian as reporter and feature writer with Providence "Journal-Bulletin" and had been employed since February, 1947. Credit record favorable, character and habits reportedly good. Immigration and Naturalization records indicate Bagdikian born in Turkey and entered U. S. in 1920. Father identified as Aram Toros Bagdikian, a clergyman, also born in Turkey. In December, 1954, Aram Baghdegian was a presiding official at a celebration sponsored by the Armenian National Council of America (ANCA) at Worcester, Massachusetts. The "Hairenik Weekly," published by a reportedly anti-Communist association, on December 9, 1954, compared Reverend Aram T. Bagdikian with Reverend Hewlett-Johnson, "Red Dean of Canterbury." The reverend reportedly ended a speech with: "Long live November 29! Long live the Soviet Union." Reverend A. T. Bagdikian of Worcester, Massachusetts, on mailing list of "Lraper" newspaper in 1952 and in 1954 wrote an article entitled "Why Is the 'Lraper' a Valuable Paper." "Lraper" is official organ of Armenian Progressive League of America which has been cited under Executive Order 10450. Aram Bagdikian, a Worcester, Massachusetts, minister, in 1944 wrote open letter to President Roosevelt protesting allotment of lend-lease funds to Turkey.

\*Aram T. Bagdikian

RECOMMENDATION:

For information.

Attachment

GMP:rm

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Memorandum to Mr. Nichols

June 16, 1955

BACKGROUND:

You will recall in my memorandum of June 3, 1955, you were advised of the progress made in our efforts to identify captioned individual, the author of a series of newspaper articles concerning the loyalty program which appeared in the Washington Evening Star. Information developed indicated Bagdikian was a reporter for the Providence, Rhode Island, "Journal-Bulletin." Bureau letter to Boston, June 6, 1955, instructed that office to search its indices and to make a discreet check of credit records for information concerning Bagdikian.

DETAILS:

SAC, Boston under date of June 8, 1955, advised that the indices of that office contained no identifiable references to Ben H. Bagdikian.

Records of the Providence Credit Bureau disclosed a report of March 20, 1952, identifying Bagdikian as a reporter and feature writer with the Providence "Journal-Bulletin" newspaper. The report indicated he had started employment about February 15, 1947, having come to Providence from Monroe, Louisiana. His credit record was favorable, and his character and habits recorded as good. These records also indicated that Bagdikian was born in Turkey and had a former residence at Stoneham, Massachusetts.

Immigration and Naturalization Service records at Boston indicate Ben Haig Bagdikian was born January 30, 1920, at Marash, Turkey; entered the United States at New York, June, 1920; and subsequently obtained derivative citizenship through his father, Aram, who was naturalized March 29, 1926.

The Boston Office enclosed a reprint of the series of articles concerning the loyalty program written by Bagdikian entitled "What Price Security?" These articles appeared in the Providence "Journal-Bulletin" during March and April, 1955. This reprint is attached.

INFORMATION RE ARAM TOROS BAGDIKIAN, FATHER:

The SAC, Boston under date of June 10, 1955, advised that the files of the Immigration and Naturalization Service at Boston indicated that Aram Toros Bagdikian was born August,

Memorandum to Mr. Nichols

June 16, 1955

1882, at Marash, Turkey, and arrived in the United States in June, 1920. Identified among his children was a son, Ben, born January 30, 1920. Bagdikian was residing in Stoneham, Massachusetts, and his occupation was listed as a clergyman.

A search of the indices of the Boston Office revealed the following information which may be identical with Aram T. Bagdikian. A confidential informant made available information during November and December, 1954, which disclosed that the Armenian National Council of America (ANCA) sponsored the 34th anniversary celebration of the Sovietization of Armenia in the Massachusetts and Providence, Rhode Island, area at Worcester, Massachusetts, on December 12, 1954. The honorary presiding officials at this ANCA affair were Aram Baghdegian and Dr. Sumpad Pachanian.

An article in the December 9, 1954, issue of "Hairenik Weekly," published by an allegedly anti-Communist association, concerning this 34th anniversary celebration at Boston, Massachusetts, November 28, 1954, was sarcastic and critical concerning this affair and stated: "The next speaker, a Reverend (Minister) Aram T. Bagdikian, was compared by the chairman to the Rev. Hewlett Johnson, the extraordinary 'Red Dean of Canterbury.!!' The article continued: "In a long winded prepared speech... Bagdikian reviewed the boring details of his life... He ended by shouting: 'Long live November 29! Long live the Soviet Union.'"

On December 2, 1952, a mailing list of the publication "Lraper," the official organ of the Armenian Progressive League of America, was made available to an Agent of the New York Office. This group has been cited under Executive Order 10450. One of the names on the mailing list was "Bagdigian, A. T. (Rev.), 28 Walworth St., Worcester 2, Mass., Comp. Dec. 1-41."

A New York report dated March 30, 1955, in the case entitled "'Lraper' Internal Security - R and AR, Registration Act," in a section headed "Literary Contributions to 'Lraper,'" indicates the July 10, 1954, issue of this publication contains an article by Aram T. Bagdigian of Worcester, Massachusetts, entitled "Why Is the 'Lraper' a Valuable Paper." (100-346794-39)

On January 28, 1954, a reliable informant of the Miami Office furnished a list of names maintained as [redacted] is reportedly completely dedicated to all Marxian theories and mails pro-Russian literature

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Memorandum to Mr. Nichols

June 16, 1955

to various individuals. One of the names on this mailing list was "Rev. Aram Bagdikien, 28 Walworth St., Worcester, Mass."

Additionally, the Worcester, Massachusetts, "Gazette" for December 29, 1944, reflects that Aram T. Bagdikian, a Worcester minister, wrote an open letter to President Roosevelt protesting allotment of lend-lease funds to Turkey. In this letter Reverend Bagdikian asserted: "World War II will be followed by World War III, with more terrible destruction, if the Allies close their eyes at the peace table to the betrayals of the Turks." (100-7660-2676)

## Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI

DATE: 6/8/55

FROM : SAC, BOSTON

SUBJECT: BEN H. BAGDIKIAN  
MISCELLANEOUS  
RESEARCH (CRIME RECORDS)

ReBulet 6/6/55.

The indices of the Boston Division contain no identifiable references to the above individual.

The records of the Providence Credit Bureau, 40 Fountain Street, Providence, Rhode Island, disclose a report as of March 20, 1952 identifying BAGDIKIAN as a reporter and feature writer with the Providence Journal-Bulletin newspaper. It indicated he had entered employment about 2/15/47, having come to Providence from Monroe, Louisiana. His credit record was favorable and his character and habits were recorded as good.

Providence directories identify BEN H. BAGDIKIAN, wife ELIZABETH S. residence 312 Morris Avenue, Providence, Rhode Island. The above credit bureau records also indicated that BAGDIKIAN had been born in Turkey and had a former residence at Stoneham, Massachusetts.

Records of the Immigration and Naturalization Service, Boston, Massachusetts indicate BEN HAIG BAGDIKIAN born 1/30/20 at Marash (Cilicia) Turkey, entered the United States at New York 6/1/20, approximately 2 months old, and subsequently obtained citizenship on a derivative basis through his father, ARAM, naturalized 3/29/26. The INS file contains no additional background data other than a request by BAGDIKIAN for a derivative citizenship certificate and an indication he was associated with the Air Force during World War II. It was not possible to obtain any data with regard to ARAM BAGDIKIAN at INS, inasmuch as his file was not immediately available and because of the desire to present this matter to the Bureau by 6/9/55.

There is enclosed herewith reprint of a series of articles entitled, "What Price Security," by BEN H. BAGDIKIAN in the nature of reprints from the Providence Journal-Bulletin newspaper during March and April, 1955, individual copies of which have been previously provided the Bureau.

COPY DESTROYED

No additional inquiry will be made in this matter pending further Bureau instructions.

TFM:maw  
Enc.

62 JUL 20 1955

JUN 10 1955

## Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Director, FBI

DATE: June 10, 1955

FROM : SAC, Boston

SUBJECT: BEN H. BAGDIKIAN  
MISCELLANEOUS RESEARCH  
(CRIME RECORDS)

Re Bureau letter, June 6, 1955, and Boston letter, June 8, 1955.

For the completion of the Bureau records, the files of Immigration and Naturalization Service at Boston, Massachusetts were checked on June 9, 1955 and identified ARAM TOROS BAGDIKIAN, then residing at 59 Elm Street, Stoneham, Massachusetts, occupation a clergyman, as a petitioner for naturalization, having been born August 15, 1882 at Marash Cecicia, Turkey, and having arrived at the United States at the Port of Brooklyn, New York, June 2, 1920. He identified among his children a son, BEN, born January 30, 1920, at Marash, Turkey, who is believed identical with the individual referred to above.

ARAM T. BAGDIKIAN was naturalized in the United States District Court, Boston, Massachusetts, under Certificate No. 2307196, on March 29, 1926.

The indices of the Boston Division contain the following references, which may be possibly identical with ARAM T. BAGDIKIAN:

Boston report of 100-7-645-725  
of 1/11/55 by SA  
C. H. KOKOLAKIS entitled:  
ARMENIAN PROGRESSIVE LEAGUE OF AMERICA,  
IS-R & AR-IS ACT OF 1950

Following are excerpts from the above report:

"P-8 made available information during November and December, 1954, which disclosed that the ANCA (Armenian National Council of America) sponsored the 34th anniversary celebration of the Sovietization of Armenia in the Massachusetts and Providence, Rhode Island at the following places: .....

"On December 12, 1954, at 2:00 p.m. at the Rio Restaurant, main ballroom, 40 Thomas Street, Worcester, Massachusetts, sponsored by the Worcester Branch of the ANCA.

TFM:ls

RECORDED - 73

INDEXED - 73

2 JUN 13 1955

CRIME REC.

EXP. PROC.

Director, FBI

June 10, 1955

✓ "T-8 stated that the honorary presiding officials at the Worcester ANCA affair were ARAM BAGHDEGIAN and Dr. SUMPAD PACHANIAN, Chairman was D. SIMONIAN....."

An article appeared in the December 9, 1954 issue of the "Hairenik Weekly" (published by an association allegedly anti-Communist) concerning the 34th anniversary celebration of the Sovietization of Armenia held at Boston, Massachusetts, November 28, 1954. The newspaper article was sarcastic and critical concerning the above affair and read in part:

"The next speaker, A Reverend (Minister) ARAM T. BAGDIKYAN, was compared by the chairman to the Rev. HEWLETT JOHNSON, the extraordinary 'Red Dean of Canterbury' who 'recently confounded American questioners so badly that they first mounted a mule, and then tried to get off that mule.' BAGDIKYAN's comparison with HEWLETT JOHNSON seemed a happy comparison.

"In a long winded prepared speech ('I didn't think I would be allowed to speak freely here today, so I wrote down my speech') BAGDIKYAN reviewed the boring details of his life that had made a 'patriot' of him. 'November 29 is etched in golden letters among all the great dates of history. Armenia is free and progressive. It is as free and as progressive as in the days of Tigranes the Great (this was more than 1954 years back--Ed. HW). November 29 is a miracle, a ray of sunlight. Armenia has a great future. Armenia will soon extend from Mt. Ararat to Cilicia. We are American citizens; we love America. Rebuilt Armenia has filled the people with a new spirit.' He ended by shouting: 'Long live November 29! Long live the Soviet Union.'"

T-8 is [ ] who gave the information regarding the 34th anniversary celebration mentioned previously to Special Agent CHRISTOPHER H. KOKOLAKIS on October 12, 1954.

b7D

Boston memorandum of SA *NR 4/7/53*  
REED W. JENSEN, 8/7/53, entitled  
LRAPER  
IS-R & AR

This memorandum reads in part as follows:

"By New York letter to the Bureau dated <sup>100-94754</sup> July 16, 1953, with carbon copy to Boston (100-17020), this office was provided photostats of the mailing list of the publication 'Lraper.' This publication is self-described as the official organ of the Armenian Progressive League of America, which group has been cited by the Attorney General as coming within the purview of Executive Order 10450.

Director, FBI

June 10, 1955

"This mailing list was made available to SA PHILIP H. SHERIDAN of the New York Office on December 2, 1952 by [redacted] Office of Postal Inspector, General Post Office, New York City."

b6  
b7C

One of the names on the mailing list was as follows:

✓ "BAGDIGIAN, A.T. (Rev.), 28 Walworth St., Worcester 2, Mass.  
Comp. Dec. 1-41"

New York report of SA [redacted] 75-794-  
JAMES H. KAVANAGH, 3/30/55, entitled  
"LRAPER"  
IS-R & AR

✓ Under caption of report "Literary Contributions to 'Lraper'," there is set forth an analysis of the July 10, 1954 edition of the paper. Columns 3 to 5 of page 2 contain an article "Why is the 'Lraper' a Valuable Paper" by "ARAM T. BAGDIGIAN, Worcester, Massachusetts."

Miami letter to Boston, ✓  
3/5/54, entitled

[redacted]  
SM-C

b6  
b7C  
b7D

This memorandum reads in part as follows:

"On January 28, 1954, [redacted] of known reliability, furnished to SA G. RANDALL McGOUGH a list of names maintained as [redacted]"

b6  
b7C  
b7D

[redacted] This list is being maintained in the Miami Division in file [redacted]

One of the names listed as "Rev. ARAM BAGDIKIEN, 28 Walworth St., Worcester, Mass."

According to the above Miami letter, [redacted] is "completely dedicated to all Marxian theories, philosophy and teachings" (per [redacted] and mails pro-Russian literature to various individuals. [redacted]  
[redacted]  
[redacted]  
[redacted]

b6  
b7C  
b7D



## Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI

DATE: 11/23/55

FROM : SAC, BOSTON (94-487)

SUBJECT: BEN H. BAGDIKIAN  
MISCELLANEOUS  
RESEARCH (CRIME RECORDS)

ReBulet 6/6/55 and Boslets 6/8 and 6/10/55.

There is enclosed herewith photostatic copy of article relating to above individual in connection with foreign study grant.

TFM:maw  
Enc.

RECORDED-12

62-94717-8

30  
1955

EX-125

35  
NOV-25-1955maw  
NOV 28 195510.  
62-94717  
DEC 8 1955

## Journal-Bulletin Reporter Gets Foreign Study Grant

Ben H. Bagdikian, a Journal-Bulletin reporter since 1947, has been named by the Reid Foundation as one of six recipients of \$5,000 grants for study abroad during 1956.

Another of the grants went to Mary Packwood, 27, of The Binghamton (N.Y.) Press, who was society editor of The Providence Journal from October, 1950, to August, 1951.

The Reid Foundation, founded by the late Ogden Reid, editor of the New York Herald Tribune, makes annual study awards to newspaper men and women of proved ability in editorial work, with at least five years experience on United States dailies.

Bagdikian, who expects to go abroad next April with his wife and two sons, will study reportorial techniques in several West European capitals. He hopes to determine the adequacy of coverage given to political and other stories by the predominantly political party press of those capitals.

Bagdikian, 35, graduated from Clark University in Worcester in 1941, worked one year for the Springfield Morning Union, and then went into the Air Force, in which he served more than three years as a navigator. After his discharge, he spent a year doing magazine and free lance work in New York.

While on the Journal-Bulletin



Ben Bagdikian

staff, Bagdikian has won a special Peabody award for his series on "Pitchmen of the Press," and a Heywood Brown award for a series on Facts Forum.

The four other Reid grants went to Ralph G. Craib, 30, of The Oakland (Calif.) Tribune; Bob Eddy, 38, of The St. Paul (Minn.) Dispatch; John W. Haigh, 37, of The Yakima (Wash.) Republic, and Eleanor R. Prech, 39, of The Cleveland (Ohio) Press.

Providence, R.I. Bulletin  
11-18-55

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
 Nichols \_\_\_\_\_  
 Boardman \_\_\_\_\_  
 Belmont \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mason \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
 Parsons \_\_\_\_\_  
 Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
 Tamm \_\_\_\_\_  
 Nease \_\_\_\_\_  
 Winterrowd \_\_\_\_\_  
 Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
 Holloman \_\_\_\_\_  
 Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

## Award Given To Newsmen

NEW YORK, April 19 (AP).—Newspapermen in Providence, R. I., and Washington, D. C., yesterday won \$500 awards each from the Sidney Hillman Foundation for their reporting on labor matters.

They are Ben Bagdikian, columnist and special writer for the Providence Journal and Bulletin, and Murrey Marder, reported for the Washington Post and Times Herald.

Mr. Bagdikian received his award for a series of articles analyzing Government security programs and spotlighting defects in them. Mr. Marder was honored for day-to-day articles on various aspects of civil liberties.

Others receiving \$500 awards were:

Reuben Levin, editor of Labor, weekly publication of railroad unions in Washington, for a number of articles on Federal regulatory agencies and civil liberties.

John Lord O'Brian, lawyer, for his book, "National Security and Individual Freedom," published by the Harvard University Press.

Dr. Robert Engler, professor of political science at Sarah Lawrence College, for a series of articles in the New Republic Magazine on oil and politics.

Presentation ceremonies were held in the Waldorf-Astoria Hotel. The Hillman Foundation was created in 1947 to keep alive the late labor leader's ideas on labor management, civil liberties and other matters.

Wash. Post and Times Herald \_\_\_\_\_  
 Wash. News \_\_\_\_\_  
 Wash. Star ☒ \_\_\_\_\_  
 N. Y. Herald Tribune \_\_\_\_\_  
 N. Y. Mirror \_\_\_\_\_  
 N. Y. Daily News \_\_\_\_\_  
 Daily Worker \_\_\_\_\_  
 The Worker \_\_\_\_\_  
 New Leader \_\_\_\_\_

Date 4-19-56

162-94717- A  
 NOT RECORDED  
 117 MAY '3 1956

File 62-  
 94717  
 H&H

70 MAY 7 - 1956

## Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Mr. DeLoach

DATE: June 23, 1959

FROM : M. A. Jones

SUBJECT: "THE NEWSMAGAZINES"  
by Ben H. Bagdikian  
Reprinted from  
"The Providence Journal-Bulletin"  
October 5-17, 1958

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
 Belmont \_\_\_\_\_  
 DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
 McGuire \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
 Parsons \_\_\_\_\_  
 Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
 Tamm \_\_\_\_\_  
 Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
 W.C. Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
 Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
 Holloman \_\_\_\_\_  
 Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

SYNOPSIS:

Review of captioned reprint, a series of 12 articles on news-magazines by Ben H. Bagdikian, Journal-Bulletin staff writer.

The author analyzes and compares the "Big Three" among news magazines reaching nearly 10,000,000 persons each week, which he designates as "Time," "Newsweek," and "U.S. News & World Report." Stating that each of the three magazines has had its particular interests in the news and has tended to fit the presentation of the facts to those interests, he adds that the general bias of the three magazines is all on the same side of the American political arena.

"U.S. News & World Report," the author states, comes the nearest to the journalistic tradition of objectivity and records dutifully the official news and some of the opposition while pursuing with enthusiasm, imagination and overwhelming space the ideas dearest to the editor's heart.

"Newsweek" does not seem to be so dominated by a single strong set of political-social opinions or a powerful personality, however, one feature which detracts from its value as a news organ is its persistent self-promotion. The author feels it is the least biased of the three.

"Time," the magazine with the largest circulation and the best equipped and staffed, is treated the least kindly by the author. He points out the known inaccuracies in fact, but says the key is not what "Time" says, but how it says it. "Time," he says, "is religiously committed to Modern Republicanism and sets out various examples."

RECOMMENDATION:

None. For information.

ULG:lln

(6)

EX-132

REC-11

24 JUN 25 1959

33 JUL 6 1959

UNRECORDED COPY FILED IN 94-8-367-

Jones to DeLoach

PURPOSE:

You requested a review of the captioned reprint furnished you by Mr. James E. Fain, Dayton Daily News, Dayton, Ohio.

"THE NEWSMAGAZINES"

This is a reprint of a series of 12 articles on newsmagazines by Ben H. Bagdikian, Journal-Bulletin staff writer. The author states that "Each week a politically crucial bloc of American voters--perhaps as many as 10,000,000 men and women--have arranged before their eyes a neatly reconstructed picture of the nation and the world. This arrangement is through the pages of the Big Three among news magazines." Designating the "Big Three" as "Time," "Newsweek," and "U.S. News & World Report," the author states that each magazine tells its readers it is devoted mainly to news.

Mr. Bagdikian then proceeds to analyze these three magazines as to circulation, content, bias and accuracy, at the same time comparing the three on each issue. In 1957, the net paid weekly circulation of "Newsweek" was 1,119,000, but it was being approached rapidly by "U.S. News & World Report" which has tripled its circulation in eight years and in 1958 was reported to be over 1,000,000. "Time" has twice that circulation.

The author states that each of the three magazines has had its particular interests in the news and has tended to fit the presentation of the facts to those interests. The general bias of the three magazines, says the author, is all on the same side of the American political arena. "U.S. News & World Report" has a net impact that agrees with its editor's ultra-conservative political and social opinions. Its technique of printing large quantities of primary documents in public affairs, however, means that opposing points of view see the light of day, even though overbalanced by material agreeing with the editor. "Newsweek" appears to fluctuate between orthodox business-and-trade interests and straight news; but, its apparent lack of unity makes it less dogmatic. "Time" is religiously committed to Modern Republicanism. When "Time's" dominant political interest is not threatened, however, it takes independent lines on civil liberties and other nonpolitical matters.

U.S. NEWS & WORLD REPORT

Mr. Bagdikian states that it may be encouraging to some that the newsmagazine closest to the journalistic tradition of objectivity, "U.S. News & World Report," has been growing the fastest in recent years. "If one characterized the treatment by 'U.S. News & World Report' of integration--and of other issues with which the Editor strongly disagrees," says Bagdikian,

Jones to DeLoach

"one could say that it records dutifully the official news and some of the opposition. And it pursues with enthusiasm, imagination and overwhelming space the ideas dearest to his (the Editor's) heart."

### NEWSWEEK

Of "Newsweek," Mr. Bagdikian says that one feature that detracts from its value as a news organ is its persistent self-promotion. According to the author, "Newsweek" does not seem to be so dominated by a single strong set of political-social opinions or a powerful personality as do "Time" and "U.S. News & World Report." He adds that the magazine appears less unified and more loosely edited, and this seems to add to its reputation of being less biased in its presentation of the news than "Times."

### TIME

Mr. Bagdikian treats "Time" the least kindly of the three. He states that "Time" has the most effective network of information gatherers in the United States, in terms of intensive coverage of particular subjects; on occasions its work is distinguished, showing by contrast the superficial coverage of other magazines and of many newspapers; "Time" frequently answers in its stories the simple human questions that the hardboiled types of journalism ignore; "Time" can develop the possibilities of a news event more imaginatively than almost any other news organization in the world; and the magazine's writing and editing is bright, sometimes brilliant. "But," he asks, "is it The Truth?"

The author remarks that the elusiveness of Truth in terms of contemporary men and current policies must have worried the editors of "Time" occasionally, but if so, they have spared the reader this human doubt. Each week the world is created absolute and dogmatic, the good guys on one side, the bad guys on the other, with "Time" holding the only scorecard. He points out, however, that when the reader checks back he discovers that the simple world of one year develops messy complications the next, or that the good guy of October may be the bad guy of January, that Truth and Time change.

He states that while "Time" has been known to be inaccurate in its facts, the key is not what "Time" says, but how it says it. He adds that the bias does not usually keep important facts out of "Time," but sympathetic facts are presented with dignity and joy; unsympathetic facts are presented with ridicule and contempt. As examples, Bagdikian pointed out that "Time's" reporting of appearances of both Eisenhower and Stevenson at a farmer's gathering in October, 1956, titled the Eisenhower story "Ike's Promise," while the Stevenson story was titled "Adlai's Pitch." Bagdikian further states

Jones to DeLoach

that "Time's" treatment of the campaign in 1956 was so consistently biased that it would be reasonable to label it campaign literature. While Eisenhower regularly "dwelt" on subjects or stated them, Stevenson "cried."

### CONCLUSION

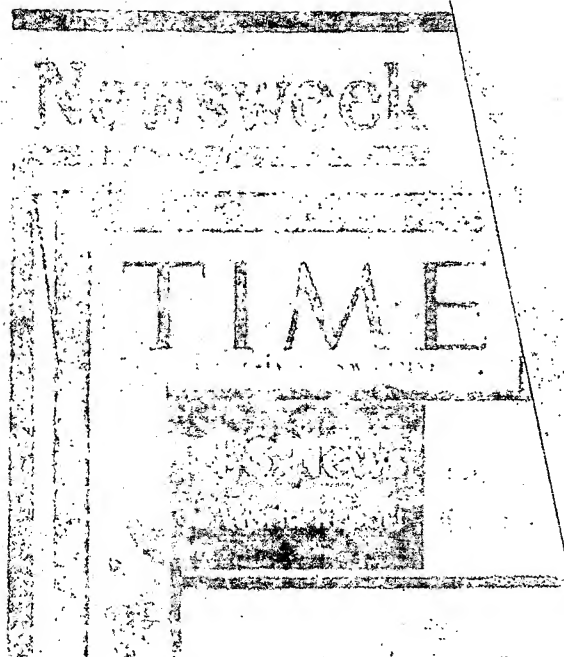
The problem of the American newsmagazine, according to the author, is that it presents a subtly loaded political story or a dramatically oversimplified one to an audience conditioned to having outright political argument labeled. The problem is compounded by the fact that the news-magazines go largely to middle-class readers who probably do not have a high interest in literary analysis and political sophistication.

63-94117-9  
ENCLOSURE



# The Newsmagazines

By Ben H. Bagdikian



Reprinted from

## The Providence Journal-Bulletin

Oct. 5-17, 1958

This series of 12 articles on newsmagazines, a new phenomenon in this generation, was done by Ben H. Bagdikian, Journal-Bulletin staff writer, who wrote "Pitchmen of the Press," a prize-winning study of four American columnists and commentators in 1950. In 1956 he was awarded an Ogden Reid Foundation Fellowship for a study of the press in England, France and Italy.

Printed and Distributed by  
Promotion Department  
PROVIDENCE JOURNAL COMPANY  
75 Fountain Street  
Providence, R. I.

# Each Week The World Neatly Reconstructed

Each week a politically crucial bloc of American voters—perhaps as many as 10,000,000 men and women—have arranged before their eyes a neatly reconstructed picture of the nation and the world. This arrangement is through the pages of the Big Three among news magazines:

Time Newsweek, and U.S. News & World Report.

Each magazine tells its readers it is devoted mainly to news.

Time's subtitle is: "The Weekly Newsmagazine."

Newsweek's name is augmented by its motto: "A Well-Informed Public is America's Greatest Security."

And the encyclopedic title, U.S. News & World Report, embellished with the slogan "The Complete News Magazine."

The 1,000,000 copies of newsmagazines that are picked off newsstands and delivered by mailmen go into homes and are read chiefly for what they have to report of the news of the world.

But their function is not the same as newspapers. The 84,000,000 copies of daily newspapers that circulate every day among Americans record as quickly as possible the mad bricks of events that come flying through the air minute-by-minute, hour-by-hour, and day-by-day.

The magazines look back at the end of the week, pick up the random blocks where they lie, rearrange them into an architecture, add their own backdrops, landscaping, elaborate and sound effects.

How accurate is this weekly re-creation? How close to

real life does it look a year afterward? How often are the bricks placed where they fit? How often are they left alone when, for the moment, they don't seem to fit anywhere? How often are the bricks of real events reshaped to build a scene more comforting to the public eye or more satisfying to a publisher's taste than the scenery of real life?

For whom is this weekly world prepared?

A Time magazine advertisement once said:

"America's leading educators, presidents of business corporations, members of Congress, the top men in practically every field vote Time their favorite magazine."

Newsweek recently published a survey found 65.1 per cent of Newsweek readers are administrative and operating executives.

Many top men do read the newsmagazines. Yet, it is a cliché among many professional men that Time and Newsweek are interesting until they report something the reader happens to know about and then they are terrible. This is a criticism made of many other popular publications, but few interpret events with such dogmatic finality as the newsmagazines.

But there is even some evidence that not all "top men" favor the newsmagazines.

Five years ago some 700 scientists were polled by Marie Destal of the University of Maryland as to publications they found congenial. Top response was The

New York Times, 20 per cent; Harpers, 13 per cent; The Reporter, 12 per cent; The Saturday Review, 10 per cent; Atlantic Monthly, 10 per cent.

Almost at the bottom was Newsweek, less than one-half of one per cent; and U.S. News & World Report, less than one-quarter of one per cent. Time was not included by name in the study but failed to get a significant number of votes in a space left for write-ins.

There are some interesting variations in the pattern of sales of the weekly newsmagazines. In general they sell more in cities than in rural areas. Time, for example, sells 12 magazines for every 1,000 persons in the country as a whole, but 19 for every 1,000 persons in metropolitan areas.

Education levels, literacy and incomes are higher in city areas and in such locations there are more occupations such as stockholders, government employees, and major merchants—affected by national affairs and therefore provide better markets for general news.

But not all city areas buy Time magazine in the same proportion. In Boston, for example, 30 copies of Time are sold per 1,000 Bostonians. But only 16 are sold per 1,000 in New York.

If one lists the metropolitan areas with a high proportion of newsmagazine sales he finds that one characteristic of such cities, with some exceptions, is that these communities are served by inadequate newspapers when it comes to national interna-

tional and cultural news and serious, rational commentary on the news.

The cities with low sales of newsmagazines tend to be those with better newspapers.

Average sales per thousand persons for Time in all major city areas is 19. Some places where the magazine does not sell so well are, with copies sold per thousand:

|                 |         |
|-----------------|---------|
| Baltimore       | .....16 |
| Charlotte, N.C. | .....16 |
| Chicago         | .....16 |
| Cincinnati      | .....12 |
| Nashville       | .....15 |
| New York        | .....16 |

Some places where Time sells at higher-than-average levels are:

|                  |         |
|------------------|---------|
| Los Angeles      | .....30 |
| Los Angeles      | .....28 |
| Manchester, N.H. | .....29 |
| Orinda           | .....29 |
| San Francisco    | .....28 |

In Providence Time sells 16 copies per thousand.

Yet plainly, there are factors other than good and bad newspapers governing the sales of newsmagazines. Los Angeles, for example, has a relatively low output of serious news and commentary in its daily newspapers. Yet its high sales of Time could also stem from the splash Hollywood makes in the national news and the stake of so many of its citizens in how that splash is recorded in the mass media.

Washington, on the other hand, has world-stirring newspapers, but also high newsmagazine sales (32 times per 1,000). Here the sales are high probably because the population is heavy with bureaucrats and other government employees who generate most national news and whose

careers are affected by how this news is reported.

The fact that the sales of Newsweek follow the same general pattern as Time indicates more than an accidental influence at work. U.S. News & World Report varies somewhat.

Whatever the pattern, the popular and commercial success of the magazines is proof that they satisfy millions of Americans. Time, Inc., the parent corporation of which Time magazine is the foundation, grossed a quarter of a billion dollars last year and showed a profit of \$25,000,000.

And no matter what criticism can be made of the magazines' contents, their success is based largely on the serious desire of readers to get an idea of what goes on in the world in an era of instant examination, revolutionary change and alarming pressures and an endless stream of news. It is natural and encouraging that the serious citizen pauses occasionally and asks himself what it all means.

The newsmagazines tell him.

It seems legitimate to inquire into how fair, how accurate, how reasonable are the interpretations the newsmagazines present to their public.

Most newspapers cling to the ideal—some say outmoded—that the reporter should let the news speak for itself, that the reporter should record the facts of an event objectively and not tell the reader what he thinks they mean.

The late Elmer Davis once said:

"The good newspaper, the good news broadcaster, must walk a tightrope between two great gulfs—on one side the false objectivity that takes everything at face value and lets the public be imposed on by the charlatan with the most brazen front; on the other, the 'interpretive' reporting which fails to draw the line between objective and subjective, between a reasonably well-established fact and what the reporter or editor wishes were the fact."

Thus, the success of the newsmagazines is based partly on the failure of newspapers, if the pattern of variation of sales in certain cities means anything. The magazines' growth is also a sign that there is an unmet popular demand for simple, dramatic interpretation of the news.

If the newsmagazines often make the news too simple and too dramatic, they survive, because the popular hunger is there.

The major question then becomes: who is the man who interprets the news, what is his record for accuracy, for integrity, for fairness, for rationality, for respect for the need of the citizen to know all the facts as they occur, pleasant and unpleasant?

It is one of the ironies of the Big Three newsmagazines that the proprietor with a reputation for the most extreme personal political bias, publishes a newsmagazine with a reputation for being the least biased of the three.—U.S. News & World Report.

How justified is that reputation?

## No. 2

# U.S. News, Fast-Rising Giant

On the last page of the latest rising newsmagazine in America one finds in small print:

"This page presents the opinions of the Editor."

A study of six months of David Lawrence's U.S. News & World Report shows that these opinions run to the need to expel Russia from the United Nations and at-

tack it militarily, the "illegality" (his quotation marks) of the Supreme Court decision on racial integration, the dangers of "New Deal experimentalism," the "dicta-

loship of his unions, the "immorality" of stopping H-bomb tests, and the general perfidy of the Kremlin and left-wing Supreme Court justices.

On this same page is printed another sentence:

"The news pages are written by other staff members independently of these editorial views."

Are they?

The newspaper editor, answering a poll, referred to "Lawrence's reactionary weekly." Yet the survey of 144 editorial page editors, by Carol Dunley of the Dept. of Journalism, University of Maryland, resulted in easy first place in usefulness for Lawrence's magazine. Time was a poor second, Newsweek third.

This kind of recognition must be a source of deep satisfaction to the 69-year-old editor. The son of poor immigrants, he worked his way through Princeton as an Associated Press campus reporter, developed a close relationship with college president Woodrow Wilson. When Wilson went to the White House, this relationship made Lawrence a leading political reporter.

It is, perhaps, typical of Lawrence that he sacrificed this valuable professional contact and personal friendship to reporting because he thought it important news--that Wilson had suffered a stroke that impaired his abilities.

Lawrence became a financial reporter, started a syndicate, and in 1926 began a rather dreary daily report of government decisions and announcements called "U.S. News." At the same time, he wrote an increasingly conservative daily column (it now appears in 250 daily papers). While a former employee, Drew Pearson, and friends Walter Lippmann and Joseph Alsop were comment- ing more or less sympathetically on the New Deal in the '30s, Lawrence became known as one of the most



David Lawrence: "... has the ability to appear sweetly reasonable while making the most highly prejudiced statements of opinion."

conservative commentators in the trade.

By 1940 Lawrence had considerable wealth and put much of it into the new "U.S. News," forerunner of the present magazine. What happened afterward may be depressing to some who admire impersonal news presentation. "U.S. News" had no visible life. Ten years ago he married it to "World Report," and a bias, or point of view, began to be evident to many. It became successful from that time on.

The circulation was 304,000 in 1951, went to 922,000 in 1957, is thought to be over

1,000,000 today. This is about the same as Newsweek, half as much as Time. It is believed that U.S. News World Report could make two or three times its present profits if it did not pour so much into news space. But its growth certainly is related to this generous allocation of space to the reader. (Lawrence's 60 per cent interest is held in trust, will go on his death to the employees, who already own 40 per cent.)

Among the features of this growing giant are

Lengthy tape-recorded interviews with important news sources, printed verbatim in

question-and-answer form without comment.

Generous use of full texts of important public declarations, speeches by politicians, and other spoken news, also without comment within the text. These plus the interviews may constitute as much as one-third of any one issue.

Competent, on-the-scene reports by the magazine's correspondents.

Full-scale analytical pieces on a single theme, with heavy emphasis on economic reporting.

Outstanding use of graphic illustration to clarify economic and other complex news.

These all include many presentations, plainly contrary to the opinions of David Lawrence himself.

In terms of quantity of reporting, U.S. News & World Report is far ahead of its two major competitors. In 1957 it averaged 90 pages a week of news, double Time and Newsweek. In the first six months of 1958 it printed 297 pages on business outlook (Newsweek, 82; Time, 36); 103 pages on education (Time and Newsweek each 34 pages); and 91 pages on science and space (Newsweek, 74; Time, 54). Total news pages so far this year average 69 pages a week for

U.S. News & World Report, 52 for Newsweek, and 46 for Time.

This by itself is no measure of net value to the reader. Time and Newsweek summarize, which could conceivably be more useful than the lengthy primary documents published by U.S. News & World Report. And Time and Newsweek devote considerable space to cultural-intellectual-entertainment life, but U.S. News & World Report almost none.

But for political and economic reporting, Time and Newsweek plainly are outdistanced in space and detail by their younger rival.

## The News—With a Heavy Weight

A study at the University of Syracuse School of Journalism of the 1956 political campaign showed that Time printed 34,000 words of campaign news, Newsweek some 14,000, and U.S. News & World Report, 150,000 words. Searching for bias, the survey said Time's words were 75 per cent biased toward the Republicans, Newsweek's 28 per cent toward the Republicans, U.S. News & World Report only one per cent toward the Republicans, the rest neutral.

But this study evidently looked only for editorially inserted words of bias. U.S. News & World Report deals heavily in exact reproduction of the words of others. The Syracuse survey did not measure a pertinent factor: how balanced and fair was the selection of persons whose words were accurately reported? And in what editorial surroundings were these words placed?

A study of this year's U.S. News & World Report shows that it uses sources who are individually legitimate and interesting focal points of news and opinion. But it also shows that taken together they do not form a balanced picture of informed opinion.

In the first six months of

this year, for example, there were verbatim interviews with 27 representatives of large corporations. There were almost none from labor or the opposite wing of domestic economics. On auto workers' demands there were textual reprints from heads of the car manufacturing corporations, none from the union. On profits there were 111 texts from Harlow Curtice, head of General Motors; Roger M. Blough, chairman of U.S. Steel; and Benjamin F. Fairless, president of the American Iron & Steel Institute, but none from the opposite side.

Where the magazine searched out unusual sources, they tended to be on the side of the editor's opinions. For example, on March 21 the magazine reprinted as news the monthly newsletter of the First National City Bank of New York. Its message was that Germany is more prosperous than England because Germany has a free-enterprise economy and England a semi-socialist one. No presentation was made of the obvious additional or even contrary factors in understanding the two economies.

Politically, the personalities and space are biased toward

the Lawrence view. Of speech texts from 12 politicians, 11 are conservatives or conservative-moderates. (Styles Bridges, Harry Byrd, Lyndon Johnson, John Stennis) and only one (Hubert Humphrey) from the other side of the Congressional spectrum.

On Jan. 21 a series of texts on the coming political campaign formed a Republican-versus-Democratic debate by way of speeches selected by the editors. The three Republicans (President Eisenhower, Nixon and Sherman Adams) started off with three and three-tenths pages; the three Democrats (Sam Rayburn, Humphrey and Dean Acheson) were at the end with seven-tenths of one page, or only 18 per cent of the total space for that feature.

Typically in the magazine there is hard news, there is give-and-take, and, typically, there are legitimate individual sources accurately reproduced who add up to a solid net profit in space and emphasis for the Lawrence opinions.

This is not to say that anti-Lawrence opinions are excluded. In actual wordage, there are probably more in U.S. News & World Report than in Time, Newsweek, or, indeed, in the liberal New Re-



public and The Nation. But in balance and net impact, the total effect is heavily weighted in his favor.

This weight is enhanced by editorial handling of otherwise neutral or unbiased reportage. For example, on May 23 this issue was devoted to the cover theme: COMMUNISTS FORCING SHOWDOWN?

To carry out this Lawrence theme, it was necessary to torture much of the first-rate material that did not fit the editorial mold. There was no evidence of fiddling with reports themselves, only their immersion in contrary surroundings.

This was the week of the Latin American mobs attacking Vice President Nixon and of the French Army revolt in Algeria. The lead introduction said "Violence flared last week on four continents

Back of almost all of it was Communist direction."

Yet it was plain that the French Army revolt was not Communist inspired. And Vice President Nixon was the first to say that Communism was not the basic explanation for the mobs in Latin America. In fact, these points were borne out by the reports of the magazine's own correspondents.

Over the first-hand story of Robert Kleiman, U.S. News & World Report correspondent, the magazine headline read: "Communist-supplied arms . . . played a major part. Communist political tactics in Paris played still another role. It was in this situation that French officers finally rebelled . . ."

But the story this headline described made almost the opposite point. Kleiman made much of "intimidation by right-wing leaders." The only material in his story the headline could refer to was one sentence in the 17th paragraph: "To win the Al-

gerian war, General Massu maintained that the flow of rebel arms from neighboring Tunisia must be halted. Some of these arms come from Communist sources."

A boxed display thrust into the midst of the Kleiman report announced: "TREND OF CONFLICT: Rebel attacks have been increasing recently, as Communist arms flowed in from next-door Tunisia."

Even in the standing feature, "Business Around the World," the theme was "supported" by: "Busy as their firebrands are with brickbats, the Communists still have time to poke around in the trouble spots of the business world . . ." Fifteen lines later it added that Communist bloc nations may not be aiming primarily at weakening Western markets so much as getting rid of their own surplus problems.

The bristling supernaturalism of Lawrence appears in a dramatic display on Page 43 entitled: "When U.S. Is Insulted Now and 44 Years Ago." It noted that 44 years ago when Mexico arrested seven American sailors and then refused to release or to raise the U.S. flag and give it a 21-gun salute, American soldiers invaded Mexico and occupied Vera Cruz for seven months. The display then reported that by contrast when the Vice President was spat on by mobs, American soldiers were sent only to nearby countries, not right into Venezuela.

The magazine repeated the theme again on Sept. 5, 1955, in an article on the murder by Iraq mobs of three Americans. It printed a two-thirds-of-a-page display recalling 19th century American enforcement of payments by other countries, with the title "In the Past: When Americans Have Been Killed Or Attacked Abroad—"

The theme: COMMUNISTS FORCING SHOWDOWN? is over another piece of text that does not support it.

"On the spot, in South America, the answers come quickly from leaders, from the people."

"Are South Americans going Red? No."

"What bothers them then? U.S. neglect, the U.S. recession, U.S. trade barriers."

"What else? U.S. ties with dictators."

"Result? Angry neighbors."

Thus, two distinct lines appear in U.S. News & World Report: 1. Accurate reprints of interviews and public statements, plus first-hand reports by the magazine's own correspondents, many of them unbiased reporting;

2. A selection process of the reprints and interviews which heavily weights them in quantity, number and presentation on the side of Lawrence's personal convictions, and an embellishment of the first-hand reports which carry out the Editor's themes in headlines, introductions and other presentations even when these embellishments are contrary to the reports themselves.

Many years ago, Delbert Clark said:

"In some ways Lawrence is the most skillful of all the Washington columnists: he has the ability to appear sweetly reasonable while making the most highly prejudiced statements of opinion . . ."

Clark was talking of Lawrence's personal column, but a study of U.S. News & World Report leads one to much the same conclusion. It also causes doubt as to the validity of the claim:

"The news pages are written by other staff members independently of these editorial views."

# U.S. News and Its Wound

In the June 13, 1952, issue of the magazine U.S. News & World Report, the editors of this fastest-growing American newsmagazine inserted a special display that took two-thirds of a page.

A tinted inspirational photograph of the United States Supreme Court building plainly showed the trend:

## EQUAL JUSTICE UNDER LAW

The display celebrated the court's declaration that President Truman's seizure of the steel industry during a labor dispute was unconstitutional. In undisguised admiration of the court, the display said that no dictatorship is possible in the United States because the court is a "Barrier to Dictatorship," and in order for tyrants to reign

"... the Supreme Court must be challenged ... or its dictum defied."

In small print at the bottom it said: "Copyright, 1952, U.S. News Pub. Corp."

A study of the magazine in 1958 makes the 1952 display hard to believe. In issue after issue the Supreme Court and its justices are attacked, articles are published implying that it is dominated by "left-wing" law clerks, the Editor refers to its pronouncements as "illegal" and

the results as "law" (his quotation marks) and features headlines such as: COURT IS GIVING COMFORT TO COMMUNISTS, and says Chief Justice Earl Warren shows "indifference to human suffering."

What happened to change the court—in the eyes of U.S. News & World Report—from a dictator's "barrier" in 1952 to a Communist "comfort" in 1958? And to change the Editor, who in 1936 wrote a book, "Nine Honest Men" in fervent praise of the United States Supreme Court?

A study of the magazine leads one to the conclusion that it was the single act of the 1954 decision declaring racial segregation in public schools unconstitutional.

The impression is that this decision caused a profound trauma and that the magazine picks at the wound every week.

Not one week passed in the first six months of 1958 without a reference to racial integration. The references were sometimes straight news, sometimes highly pertinent opinions accurately recorded, but often a reaching out by the editors for material—accurately reproduced—which in its net impact carried out the feeling against the Supreme Court decision.

The usual reference in headlines and stories was not to

"integration," but the more emotional term, "racial mixing." "President Eisenhower sent troops to force the mixing of the races" (Dec. 27, 1957); "... racial mixing in schools in 1958" (Jan. 3, 1958); "to force racial mixing" (Jan. 10, 1958) and so on during the year.

The high incidence of integration news is by no means poor news judgment. Many would agree that Negro-white relations are the major domestic problem in the United States in our time. Exposure of news, opinion and study fills a real need. Advocacy of one side or the other is in the tradition of free discussion. But the quiet loading of "news" presentation is not.

It is "quiet" in U.S. News & World Report because it is largely by use of the words of others and because it is by means of the weight of space and emphasis, rather than outright opposition, as is done quite appropriately in the Editor's page.

Recently on his editorial page, David Lawrence expressed his personal view of reality in the South when he wrote:

"... something the South understands and wishes the North could understand, too—that racial bitterness between whites and Negroes has never been characteristic of the South—David Lawrence, Editor."

# Reaching Out for Segregation

As in political and economic items, there are large quantities of anti-Lawrence views published. In the past—though not in the first six months of 1958—there have been long interviews with integrationist leaders, long tex-

tual excerpts from Negro sources.

In addition, the argument can be made that the most dramatic news has been made by the segregationists and the most vocal arguments made by the South.

Despite these factors, there is evidence that U.S. News & World Report reaches out for segregationist views. And in absolute measure, the magazine tells the reader more of the segregationist view than of the integrationist.



## Barrier to Dictatorship?

U.S. News & World Report, May 13, 1952



### Senate Report: Court Is Giving 'Comfort' to Communists

U.S. News & World Report, May 10, 1958

U.S. News & World Report changed its opinion of Supreme Court between 1952, 1958.

In the first six months of 1958, the equivalent of 80 pages of race relations or critical court material appeared in the magazine at least one item every week. More than 75 per cent of these items treated integration critically, either showing it to be a failure or as causing trouble.

Thirteen per cent was neutral in tone or impact.

Eight per cent was approving (one example: in an interview with the commandant of the U.S. Marine the magazine asked if racial integration was a problem; the magazine published in straightforward manner the reply that it had worked well).

Race relations show up obtrusively in the most unlikely places. On Jan. 3 the magazine reported that in Uganda schools are to start "racial mixing." Two weeks later, "Racial Problem a New Headache for Red Chinese." The week after, an item on violence in Kansas City schools with the quick refer-

ence: "The trouble was centered at Central Junior High School, which is 80 per cent Negro."

On Feb. 1 a two-page article on New York school cranks' invitational trip to "schools that are heavily populated by Negro and Puerto Rican pupils." The week after that, a two-page article on Washington, D.C., where it reported major crimes by Negroes and the optimism that the Supreme Court has crippled law enforcement; the next week another New York City school story. "Is race fusion behind the surge of crime in New York City's integrated schools?"

On April 4 "Worldgram. From the Capitals of the World: Moscow, Havana, Paris, Bonn, Singapore... Here's the Red strategy for U.S. — Talk peace, yuh up the peace at any price, give 'Stir up Negroes to fight segregation." In the same issue, another article on Washington,

D.C., where "Officials estimate that one-fourth of Washington's Negro children are illegitimate." A couple of weeks later a sympathetic account of the election of Prime Minister Strijdom, "Mr. Afrikaner... Lion of the Transvaal," in South Africa where there is "strictly enforced racial segregation," and a few weeks later another item on Union of South Africa. "Where Racial Barriers Keep Going Higher... South Africa is now turning to more and more segregation as the answer to its racial problems," quoting only pro-Strijdom sources.

While a reasonable reader would not dispute any one item on integration, the tone and direction of the pattern of coverage is almost obsessively anti-integrationist. Friends of David Lawrence say this is out of character with him, though he is a longtime resident of Washington and Virginia. He has printed material against "group prejudice." Yet, the

magazine's treatment of the issue, while never excluding integrationist views, completely is overwhelmingly against the Supreme Court decision.

Two-thirds of the Oct. 4, 1957, issue was devoted to the Little Rock crisis, with almost every department of the magazine suffused with emotion. The confidential-sounding page, "Washington Whispers," is filled with such items as, "Earl Warren . . . who said the Supreme Court on ordering . . . Mr. Eisenhower . . . has acted upon his own without consulting his cabinet." Newspapermen in Little Rock noted that the town was swarming with FBI agents who were reported to be the advance guards of agents who will move into the South to police the new civil rights law.

The step-by-step formal chronology of events leading to the crisis, ostensibly as unbiased as a calendar, has 66 per cent of its three pages devoted to direct and indirect quotations of Gov. Orval Faubus.

A five-page layout, "Political Leaders and Editors Size

Up Little Rock Crisis," is 80 per cent against integration moves, with 30 per cent of the total devoted to Sen. Richard Russell of Georgia. The opinion of a southern governor, supporting President Eisenhower, is not quoted.

Two full pages quote a bitter segregationist and are entitled: "How James F. Byrnes Sizes Up Integration Troubles." There is no contrary view presented.

An example of the far-reaching enterprise of the magazine to find texts to support its view is the full page in the same issue quoting an editorial from an English Roman Catholic newspaper questioning whether the Roman Catholic Church should regard segregation in schools as "morally wrong and sinful." It is entitled, "A Catholic View on Segregation" (although the overwhelming official Catholic view has been against segregation).

Of all editorial and news material in that issue, 77 per cent was essentially anti-integrationist in tone, substance or presentation, 19 per cent was neutral, and 4 per cent was pro-integration. The 4

per cent was the text of the President's television address to the nation.

While segregationists did make news that week, so did those supporting the Supreme Court and integration. The magazine did not publish the text of the federal judge's injunction against violence in Little Rock; nor the President's proclamation before he ordered in troops; nor the speech of the federal Army commander to the high school students; nor the words of J. Edgar Hoover, who said Governor Faubus was lying; nor the text of a statement by the Rev. Billy Graham, a Southerner, condemning the violence and favoring integration, even though U.S. News & World Report had devoted a cover story to Billy Graham the week before.

Thus, if one characterized the treatment by U.S. News & World Report of integration—and of other issues with which the Editor strongly disagrees—one could say that it records dutifully the official news and some of the opposition. And it pursues with enthusiasm, imagination and overwhelming space the ideas dearest to his heart.

## No. 4

# U.S. News & Crystal Ball

"Don't never prophesy—onless ye know."

This is a grandfather's advice to James Russell Lowell and a commandment in ordinary news reporting.

Forecasting is a weakness to which journalistic flesh is prone, and so fervent an apostle as David Lawrence in his U.S. News & World Report is guilty of this minor transgression.

The magazine, more than any of the Big Three news weeklies, is devoted to heavy portions of full texts, verbatim interviews and serious news. But here and there in the pantries of its growing mansion it sips at the wine of prophecy.

This is, perhaps, a natural weakness for a magazine that started as a financial report. The financial newsletters that proliferate from Washington and New York indicate that businessmen have a special appetite for forecasts printed in imitation typewriter type, giving the impression that the editor has just received a tip so hot he sat right down, typed it out and ran it to the mailbox.

Thus, a number of pages in U.S. News & World Report are tinted paper filled with imitation typewriter type and filled with a pot-pourri of news flashes, general background conditions,

and forecasts. They are called such names as "Tomorrow, Newsgram," and "Washington Whispers," and "Trend of Business." U. S. News & World Report is said to have been the first to introduce the colored-page, imitation-typewriting to regular magazines.

Has it been a noteworthy contribution to public information?

The magazine's general business forecasts have a good reputation among businessmen, and in 1957 it had the satisfaction of having predicted quite accurately the current recession. (Although, like many a prophet, it began to get nervous when the time

# Newsgram

A tax cut now appears to be as certain as anything can be in this world. The plan is for \$1 billion dollars. The scope: Across the board.

Personal exemption seems sure to go to \$700 from \$600.

Saving For a family of four with \$5,000 of income, it's to be \$40 a year, \$1.54 a week.

A 2 per cent cut in tax for all taxpayers is considered. The saving: It will vary with size of income. This cut is not sure.

On March 21, 1958 U.S. News & World Report made this forecast concerning taxes.

These are lessons already being drawn from the latest recession:

A turn for the better can come without massive action by Government.

A cut in taxes was not required to reverse a downtrend. Cushions, built in to protect incomes of unemployed, aged, other groups, worked as planned.

Three-and-a-half months later U.S. N & W R has this to say about taxes.

came and began to hedge: Jan 3, 1958. "There was a growing opinion that the drop would prove as brief as it was sharp, with the trend starting to level off early in the new year."

But when it moves out of the business arena into the political and diplomatic world, the magazine's crystal ball begins to cloud. Early in 1957 it devoted its cover article to "What's Coming in Ike's Second Term."

Among other things, it assured the reader, "... American influence and power will be felt throughout the non-Communist world. Communism in this period is more likely to decline rather than grow in its appeal and influence. It is entirely possible that, at the end of a second Eisenhower administration, the United States will be without a real rival in all the world in point of military and political and industrial power. In this period, too, American power and influence is to push into the Middle East. Money from U.S. taxpayers and a warning that the United States will fight are counted on to bring sta-

bility to countries of that area and to stop the Soviet Union from overt moves...

A broad measure of prosperity is probable during the second term. Unemployment is not expected to become a major problem. Any point in the four years ahead jobs will be quite plentiful...

The second term is not yet over; so it seems safest to suspend judgment on the above forecast and merely wish the prophet luck. But one may be forgiven for questioning the magazine's vision when on May 23, this year it said: "Worldgram, From the Capitals of the World... Violence in little Lebanon is expected to die down in the face of U.S. power" and the next week added: "In Beirut, odds are against any call for U.S. to send in troops to help Lebanon's pro-Western Government." One week after that the prophet looked up and said crisply: "Don't expect peace to break out in Lebanon right away."

Not many weeks before, the magazine had said flatly: "Washington Whispers... Marshall Tito of Yugoslavia

is going to retire next May as President of the nation and as Communist Party secretary."

On Dec. 27, 1957 "Washington Whispers" said: "Christian Hertel, under secretary of state, is reported by his friends to be unhappy over the fact that he does not play a larger role in policy making..." One week later, Washington whispered back: "Christian Hertel, under secretary of state, has no intention of giving up the State Department post he holds, despite reports to the contrary indicating dissatisfaction with his job."

For the benefit of any misinformed readers, U.S. News & World Report said May 30: "It turns out that the Central Intelligence Agency knew about the Communist plans in South America to embarrass Vice President Nixon..." The misinformed reader could conceivably have got the idea from U.S. News & World Report the week before when it said: "Washington Whispers... This country's Central Intelligence Agency, counted upon to know in advance what is to happen in foreign

countries missed completely the Communist plans for attacking Nixon in South America.

The reversals in world events and the prophetic whiffs fell something. They tell us that unlike most prophets, those of U.S. News & World Report set the record right when the world is on its own way.

They tell of the weakness for forecasting as another croquet from the magazine's past. Other harmless editorial peculiarities, plain throwbacks to the "U.S. Daily" 30 years ago when Lawrence recorded government pronouncements, are features

like "Newslines--What You as a Businessman Can and Cannot Do as a result of recent court and administrative decisions." On May 23, for example, readers learned, "You cannot, as a producer of sugar, avoid paying the manufacturers' excise tax on sugar sold for use on a ship." In a section called "Trend of American Business," the magazine reported that a Texas physician said it is all right to feed infants cold milk, a wife can be taxed on her alimony, and "There are 55 kinds of cockroaches in the U.S."

These are minor inventions on an otherwise formidable

structure of the magazine, like the prophecies.

The forecasts indicate another lesson, perhaps not quite learned as yet.

On March 21 of this year, the lead prediction in "Tomorrow" read:

"A tax cut now appears to be as certain as anything can be in this world."

On June 27, "Tomorrow," shifting to the past tense, reported:

"A cut in taxes was not required to reverse a downturn."

They teach that perhaps death and taxes, but, alas, little else, including a tax cut, is certain in this world.

## No. 5

# Newsweek . . . Reads the Papers

On Page 21 of the April 21, 1958, Newsweek magazine, the Editor-in-Chief in a message to readers said:

"Somewhere, at every moment of every day, the men and women of NEWSWEEK are at work on missions of many kinds . . . in a hut in the jungles of Cuba or Indonesia, a literary salon in Europe, at the White House in Washington, or a machine shop in Ypsilanti."

There are, indeed, Newsweek correspondents who travel to sources of news all over the world, but the Editor-in-Chief may have slighted a key man: the intrepid editor who each workday takes the elevator to his office in the Newsweek Building at 152 West 42nd Street in New York and fearlessly reads The New York Times.

The correspondents in Cuba, Paris, and Ypsilanti produce some first-rate articles in Newsweek, but the editor reading The New York Times produces more than all the others combined.

The use of so sturdy a source of news as The New York Times is admirable, but Newsweek, as does its uptown senior rival, Time, tends to

present this same information not so much as fallible words from identifiable human sources as The Revealed Truth recorded in Holy Writ.

Both Time and Newsweek have human beings covering news, many of them competent. Time has 53 fulltime correspondents listed in 15 American cities outside New York, and 32 in 15 foreign cities. Newsweek has 29 in six American cities outside New York, and 11 in seven foreign cities. Both maintain additional "stringers," local reporters, usually newspapermen, who are available to cover specific items on a fee basis. And both maintain large staffs in their New York headquarters to compile, write and edit the stories.

Yet, David Cort, who worked on Time magazine from 1932 to 1946, says that 75 per cent of the material in Time came directly from The New York Times and the New York Herald-Tribune. Staff members at Newsweek say the percentage there is at least as high as at Time.

Newsweek is the middle magazine of the Big Three, at least for the moment. Its net paid weekly circulation in

1957 was 1,119,000. But it was being approached rapidly by U.S. News & World Report, which has tripled its circulation in eight years and this year is reported to be over 1,000,000. Time has twice that circulation.

Newsweek has struck many of its readers as being the middle magazine in another way. To some it has appeared to be an imitation of both its rivals.

There are signs in recent years that it has copied features of its competitor, U.S. News & World Report: verbatim interviews, graphic display of economic and social data, and possibly a more conservative political slant.

At the same time, Newsweek has had the reputation in the trade of being a kind of downtown edition of Time magazine. It has used the same basic cover color, red. Its format is almost the same. The departments into which the magazine is divided have only minor variations from Time. And its picture captions and the style of its text writing have followed the creations of Time, usually without much skill.

Some of the similarities



may stem from the effect Time has had on all popular journalism. It was Time, for example, that changed the prevailing style of picture captions from the ingubrious cadences of the National Geographic to the crisp, cryptic, teasing phrases commonly attempted in newspapers and magazines today.

Time's writing style, known as "Timestyle" during the Brass Age of the magazine, went through several stages, taking some journalistic literature, including Newsweek's, with it. But in the beginning it sounded like a small town weekly. An item from Vol. 1, No. 1, of Time magazine, dated March 23, 1923, said:

"Mrs. H. H. Votaw and Miss Abigail Harding, sisters

of the President of the United States, arrived at Buenos Aires from Montevideo. They were received by representatives of the American Embassy and the Argentine Foreign Office."

Fifteen years later such an event would have taken on the dramatic air of a sub-equatorial rendezvous. By that period Time was using "Timestyle," an artificial, super-dramatic form of writing that used manufactured words placed in upsidedown sentences. This was the era of Time obituaries that always tolled the melodramatic phrase, "As it must to all men, death came last week to . . . It was the era of "cinemaddict" for "movie fan" and the formula whereby an archaic or rare word

was used every few hundred lines with a footnote explaining what it meant (the idea was to give the middle-brow reader of Time the feeling that by reading the magazine he was in the intellectual big leagues—but with no strain on his intelligence).

In recent years Time has achieved literary respectability. While it still tends to pronounce the news in tones of Divine Authority, it usually does it in recognizable English prose, some of it highly effective. It could describe the late Senator Bilbo of Mississippi:

"He was a wretched, sick and snarling little man. But he had the voice of a brass trumpet blaring venom and racism."

## An Imitation, With Tired Words

Newsweek has appeared to imitate these styles. But where Time used imaginative, precise words, Newsweek tended to use flat and tired ones. Where Time confidently issued the news like Moses Revealing the Divine Word inscribed on his tablet in the Madison Avenue dialect, Newsweek's Moses often seems to carry a curbstone instead of a tablet and the message comes out in the idiom of Main Street.

This is the significance of the magazines using conventional sources for news. In Newsweek, for example, the facts can come from The New York Times, the New York Herald Tribune, the Associated Press, United Press International, and Reuters, but often the reader sees it as absolute truth souped up with a few 42nd Street adjectives. On June 9, Newsweek wrote:

"On Memorial Day at Indianapolis, hard-bitten mechanics tuned up the powerful, low-hung cars and 33 fault drivers roared out . . ."

Or else, routine news and novelty releases find themselves draped in the metaphors that burden bad news-

paper copy, freshman themes and other transgressions on the English language:

"Esther's company is International Swimming Pool Corp. which, like all others, is splashing its way to new records. This year . . . a gurgling \$100 million more . . ."

Or in the August 11 issue a brewery official explained a transaction, or as Newsweek put it, "quickly blew the mystifying froth off the glass."

Another feature of Newsweek that detracts from its value as a news organ is its persistent self-promotion. It is constantly telling the reader what a splendid job Newsweek is doing presenting the news, perhaps on the newsmagazine theory that readers have trouble judging the facts for themselves.

It is not unusual for the editors of Newsweek to use 10 per cent of the space in an important international story telling the reader about Newsweek. History could conceivably look back with awe at the American offer to ban nuclear bomb tests. But if it looks back to Newsweek it will find that on Septem-

ber 1 the magazine used the first 30 per cent of its lead page on the story to tell the reader that Newsweek had said this was going to happen.

On the other hand, Newsweek's approach to the news often is more conventional and thus more readily judged by the reader than is Time's. The magazine often produces first-rate special articles on large themes. And it is unique among its rivals in regularly printing reports under the signatures of real, identifiable human beings.

U.S. News & World Report, except for some of its foreign reports, usually ascribes even eye-witness stories to its "Board of Editors." Time is a collective effort, and unlike even the Bible, offers the reader no clue as to who wrote stories that express highly individual value judgments.

Newsweek and Time both have back-of-the-book departments reporting and commenting on special fields in American arts, sciences and entertainment that provide material usually overlooked in the daily press. (While there is evidence that News-

week, for example, reads the New York Herald-Tribune carefully for information, it was also able to note in its Press section that the Herald-Tribune had omitted any

stories about the peccadillos of the son of the dictator of the Dominican Republic at about the same time that the newspaper was printing heavy advertisements from the Do-

minican Republic, a noteworthy sidelight on American mass media that probably would have gone unnoted in the daily press.)

## Newsweek: Not So Single-Minded

Newsweek does not seem to be so dominated by a single strong set of political-social opinions or a powerful personality, as do Time and U.S. News & World Report.

The leading figure of Newsweek is Malcolm Muir, Editor-in-Chief since 1937, who has been in publishing all his life, with heavy emphasis on business and sales. He had been president of McGraw-Hill Publishing Co., where he was influential in the creation of several trade publications and of the now highly successful magazine, Business Week. His strength was said to be salesmanship. Speeches and papers for which he was known in publishing circles were, "Breaking Down Sales Resistance in Industrial Selling," "Shadows of State Socialism," and "National Dangers of the Thirty-Hour Week." In 1937 Vincent Astor and Averell Harriman headed Weekly Publications, Inc., which had been printing a magazine called News-Week since 1933. They brought Muir to head the enterprise (Astor became chairman of the board and still is; Harriman became a director, no longer is). Muir took out the hyphen and upper case "W" in the title and added the formula of news commentary and special reports. During the war and immediately afterward the magazine produced some notable special articles. But the elder Muir has always remained interested primarily in the fiscal and managerial strength of the publication. He is a director of the National Association of Manufacturers and other prominent business organizations.

Executive Editor of the magazine is his son, Malcolm Muir Jr., who spent the early

years of his career with the United Press and with newspapers.

Thus, Newsweek appears to many to reflect the economic and political conservatism of its chief. At the same time Newsweek shows hesitancy in plunging completely into personal dogma in the news, which some ascribe to the conventional news disciplines learned earlier by the executive editor.

The magazine appears less unified and more loosely edited, and this, too, seems to add to its reputation of being less biased in its presentation of the news than Time.

Nevertheless, Newsweek seems compelled to duplicate Time's air of knowing it all. Yet, the holy wars of Time and self-congratulations of Newsweek arise for the most part from the same human world of news as the imperfect daily press.

Taking one issue of Newsweek at random, June 16, one finds that the main news section, National Affairs, carries information which is 53 per cent identical with news in The New York Times for the days during which Newsweek was being compiled. There is a heavy concentration in the magazine of Times items from the days—Wednesday, Thursday, Friday—in which Newsweek is selecting its major stories.

In that issue of Newsweek there is one story in which the order of facts and a stretch of language is identical with The New York Times, although this conceivably could be coincidence.

In addition, the interpretation that Newsweek puts on news events, particularly foreign events, appears to

follow closely The New York Times editorials of that week.

One can speculate on the hungry eye of the editor who reads the Times. On Page 33 of the June 16 issue of Newsweek there is a story entitled: DISASTER. Toll of the Wreckers. It blends three separate news items into a single theme. Two are of tornadoes striking Wisconsin (the facts in Newsweek match exactly those in an Associated Press report), and of a grasshopper plague in the Southwest (the facts for which match those in The New York Times report). A third item was far-fetched for the DISASTER theme, reporting that volunteer hurricane watchers had started their seasonal duties. One may speculate that the Newsweek editor saw the grasshopper story on Page 21 of The New York Times of June 7 and just below it, by chance on the same page, a routine story on the hurricane watchers (with facts that match exactly those that appeared in Newsweek).

A reasonable reader could hardly argue with the use by Newsweek and Time of reliable, conventional sources of news, like The New York Times and the Associated Press. But one might question the air of superior knowledge, the self-promotion and the dogmatic judgments of news displayed by the magazines without providing the reader with some sign of the source. Unlike the newspaper and wire service sources of much of the magazines' facts, Newsweek and Time leave the reader with a set of opinions and almost no room to judge the meaning of news for himself. They provide little clue as to whose opinion he is reading.

# The Dogma of Omniscience

A recent issue of Newsweek magazine declared:

"Lifting the Curtain, East Berlin-Red China... is calling now for an early trial of Imry Nagy, Premier of short-lived free Hungary."

The date on Newsweek was June 23, 1958. The execution of Nagy had been announced on front pages everywhere six days earlier, on June 17.

Didn't the editors of Newsweek see on Tuesday, the 17th, the news of the death of a man they reported alive six days later?

Undoubtedly they did, and no doubt with considerable chagrin. For on the Tuesday that Tass, the Russian news agency, announced the execution of Nagy, the Newsweek editors were on their Monday-Tuesday "weekend." They had sent the magazine to the presses Sunday night with the "news" of the demand for Nagy's trial; Tass announced Nagy's death on Tuesday; the magazine first put the newsstands on Wednesday—and the date on it was the following Monday. The news inside is eight days older than the date on the magazine.

Like most magazines, Newsweek puts an advanced date on the magazine for understandable commercial rea-

sons. It is easier to appear up-to-date by changing the calendar; and when a prospective buyer looks at the magazine he is less apt to think that it is "last week's issue."

All the Big Three news-magazines have an eight-day gap between the date they send news to press and the date on the magazine, and all of them have a five-day gap between the day they appear and the date on the cover. It is no major sin. It is of interest chiefly because it is part of the news magazine mystique that makes it necessary to know everything, or to appear to know everything, and to give the reader the feeling that he is privileged to peer with the editors into the future, or at least into the secrets of the past and the inner soul of the present.

Many of the correspondents who provide material for this mystical insight are competent men highly regarded within the trade. And on more than one occasion they have dug out newer, better and more important news than the daily newspapers.

But in their daily operations the editors of the maga-

zine ignore the dreary rules of conventional news reporting, whereby the reader is supposed to be told where the news comes from. This is a discipline on reporters, preventing mere rumors, planted items and reporters' wishes and opinions from being presented as facts. And it provides the reader with some basis for judging the seriousness, significance and reliability of the news.

All news organizations from time to time use material with only a vague source specified: "a high official" or "diplomatic sources." These are sometimes first-hand official statements of importance given on condition that the correspondent not give the source, for diplomatic reasons. Or else in the judgment of the correspondent a story is basically sound and important to print, even though no individual will let his name back it up (in which case the reputation of the correspondent gives the reader a guide). But these are special cases in most news organizations, and the whole weight of professional practice is to tell the reader both the news and where it came from.

## Just the News, or Wishes, Too?

Unhampered by such rules, the newsmagazine editor can write news that is more readable, and legitimately so. Few persons, for example, would argue with the scrupulousness and usefulness of The New York Times's Review of the Week. But the lack of restraint in the news magazines often permits the news to look more titillating and more authoritative than the facts warrant, giving the reader little hint as to when

the news stops and the editorial titillating begins, or when the facts end and editorial dogma takes over.

In the June 23, 1958, Newsweek, for example, one reads: "... the extreme rightists not only are largely uncontrolled in Algeria but are rapidly gaining strength in France itself."

The same week in Time one reads of the same rightists:

"Abandoned by their idols

and outflanked by the Army—which has quietly taken over almost all key posts in the Algerian civil administration—the diehards had little choice but to make what amounted to a humiliating confession of defeat."

In Newsweek: "rapidly gaining strength."

In Time: "a humiliating confession of defeat."

When Secretary of State Dulles appeared before a hostile Senate committee, News-

week reported Feb. 4, 1957:

"Dulles flushed deeply, then went pale. He stopped his restless doodling and his pencil fell from his fingers."

Time, the same week:

"Dulles scribbled heavily at his doodle pad, his face beet-red."

Newsweek concluded:

"John Foster Dulles had reached a crisis in his relations with Congress."

Time concluded:

"Fulbright and his Senate friends were plucking political fiddle strings."

U.S. News & World Report said of Dwight Eisenhower's first political appearance in 1952:

"Voice . . . Harsher than expected. Not much warmth."

Time the same week said:

"They liked him for his strong, vigorous manner of speech."

Two weeks later U.S. News & World Report said:

"Dwight D. Eisenhower . . . found himself deep in the bewildering wonderland of big-league politics . . . so far as neutral observers could tell, the Eisenhower side seemed to be losing as many skirmishes as it was winning."

Time at about the same period on Eisenhower:

"They like him because he turned out to be an amazingly good campaigner for his quiet control . . ."

In the June 13, 1958 U.S. News & World Report:

"Why are six Soviet fishing boats stationed constantly off the East Coast of Canada? . . . That riddle has puzzled U.S. and Canadian officials for some months."

In Newsweek, dated three days later:

"Pentagon Pipeline, Navy Headquarters — Top officials here insist there is no indication that those Soviet trawlers off Newfoundland are on any sinister mission."

As for recent press reports that the trawlers are up to no good, a well-informed officer says: 'Things must have been quiet over the holidays.'"

Two weeks later U.S. News & World Report had

an answer to its riddle: It said "Western intelligence officials" report "Why Red Subs Prowl U.S. Coasts — Russians Mapping Ocean Floors Around America . . ." explaining that the trawlers merely supply the subs.

That week, Newsweek had a new version. In a redlined special display it said:

**"THE REDS SNOOPING CLOSE TO HOME—WHY?"**

While the Navy still publicly insisted that the Soviet 'fishing' fleet off the Newfoundland coast (see Periscope, June 16, above) was only interested in fish, intelligence reports were somewhat more candid. It seems that (they) . . . are serving as floating headquarters for Russian subs which are jamming U.S. radar in Iceland, and eavesdropping on experimental electronic installations in the Boston area . . ."

On June 23 Newsweek displayed its June 16 item proudly as a sign of its authority, although its June 23 story was the reverse of the one on June 16.

Where does this leave the reader? First, U.S. News & World Report says "U.S. and Canadian officials" are "puzzled."

Newsweek at the same time says "top officials" and "a well-informed officer" are not puzzled at all, that the boats are just fishing. Then U.S. News & World Report, which had previously reported "U.S. and Canadian officials" puzzled reported that "Western intelligence officials" are not puzzled but know the boats are mapping the ocean floor (presuming U.S. and Canadian officials were still puzzled, the "Western intelligence officials" must be Western European or Latin American, a grave commentary on North American intelligence). But Newsweek, which failed at the time to tell the reader its "top officials" and "well-informed officer" were not being "candid," finally told the reader that "intelligence reports" have the boats jamming radar.

Using the same vague references, Newsweek in May explained why President Eisenhower lost his temper and responded angrily to a reporter. Quoting "intimates of the President," Newsweek said:

"Far from getting him down, they said, the press conference blowoff was an indication that Mr. Eisenhower felt genuinely confident about the Administration's ability to handle problems facing the nation. . . ."

A normally skeptical reader might ask more documentation for the claim that a man loses his temper because he feels so good. And a reader of the news magazine might be excused if occasionally he becomes skeptical when the glib, authoritative, rootless conclusions change from week to week, and from magazine to magazine.

The important point is not that interpretations and conclusions differ. Honest, reasonable men often differ in their view of the same scene. In the handling of news this ordinarily acts as a discipline: there is an obligation to let the reader know what is documented fact, what is rumor, what is wishful thinking, and what is personal opinion. In the newsmagazines, particularly Newsweek and Time, little distinction is made. The operating rule is that the world must be presented as clear, black-and-white, and interpreted with positive authority.

Above all, it must also be highly readable. As the publisher of Newsweek reported of a survey in his weekly column on Nov. 7, 1955:

"Articles in Newsweek are more readable than those in other news and business magazines. . . . In another phase of the testing, it was found that the Newsweek test article was more thoroughly comprehended than articles from the other magazines. . . ."

"That is," the Publisher added, apparently uncertain that he had been thoroughly comprehended, "the reader retained more of what he read in Newsweek."



# Newsweek: Periscope's Progress

In Newsweek of May 3, 1954 the Publisher told his readers in a column entitled "Periscope Progress":

"The Periscope, the first feature of its kind to appear in any publication, was first carried in Newsweek in 1937.

Remarkable for its accuracy, The Periscope's outstanding reputation is the result of the combined efforts of a well-integrated editorial group and a large corps of strategically placed confidential correspondents. It is closely read throughout the world and its influence is considerable."

Since prophecy seems to be a compulsion that newsmagazines find hard to resist, it is rewarding to study Newsweek's, particularly in the issue reporting "remarkable . . . accuracy." In that May 3, 1954, Periscope section, for example, one finds:

"The Inside Story, The White House — The inner circle here is predicting that ex-Sen. Henry Cabot Lodge Jr., now U.S. Ambassador to the U.N., will replace Sherman Adams as Ike's White House chief of staff."

Four years later this "inside story" had failed to reach the outside world. Ultimately, Sherman Adams did resign, some 1,500 days later, but was not replaced by Mr. Lodge.

The efficiency of the "well-integrated editorial group" can be seen in another Periscope item that same week:

"Military Straws, Tokyo—Look for Brig. Gen. Don Zimmerman of the Far East Air Force . . . to head up the faculty at the new Air Force Academy."

The editorial group could look in the future for this, or it could have looked behind 10 days to the April 23 New York Times, which carried an official announcement of General Zimmerman's appointment as dean of the fac-

ulty of the Air Force Academy.

The same Periscope column said:

"Behind the Curtain, Oslo —It's becoming more and more clear here that Franz Josef Land, in the Arctic Sea, is the most likely jumping-off place for any Russian airborne attack against the U.S."

The item neglected to specify behind which curtain the strategically placed confidential correspondent found Oslo, Norway.

Of all the Periscope forecasts and inside tips on national and international affairs of the "remarkable . . . accuracy" issue of May 3, 1954, 52 per cent were too vague or were impossible to judge or check and therefore useless to the reader (such as the Franz Josef Land item).

Ten per cent were printed elsewhere first.

Eighteen per cent were correct. (This included items like one saying President Eisenhower would spend two months in Denver "this summer." The general rumor had been printed elsewhere first, and the President spent two autumn months there, but the item was counted correct.)

Twenty-nine per cent proved wrong.

In addition to world affairs, the Newsweek Periscope rises from the depths and looks at the sunlit world of Music, Movies, etc. The May 3 issue had three items on "Periscoping TV-Radio" of which one was wrong, one was partly wrong (and the remainder obvious), and the third had been printed elsewhere first and was based on a publicity release.

The issue also "Periscoped" music: Of three items, two were wrong, one partly wrong.

In Periscoping movies, of

four items, one was totally wrong, one mostly wrong, one was from a Hollywood release, and the fourth was partly right.

These are the results from one issue, selected at the urging of the publisher. If one takes a broader sample—the first three months of 1957—the percentage of success and usefulness is not much different.

Of the main Periscope section during this period, 17 per cent was accurate and apparently printed first in Newsweek.

Some 46 per cent consisted of items so obvious or so vague or so beyond confirmation that they were useless to the reader. An example is the March 18 item: "You can look for the coming investigation of the AFL-CIO Bakers Union to be even more lurid than the Teamsters hearings." It is perfectly accurate that the reader could look for this, if he chose. If he did look he might have trouble deciding that the bakers' operations were more ghastly yellow than the Teamsters'. But this item was counted in the too-vague - or-impossible-to-check category rather than wrong, as later Teamster disclosures might justify.

Ten per cent of the items had been printed elsewhere first, one of them two months earlier.

Twenty-seven per cent were wrong.

Some wrong items: "Democratic Chairman Paul Butler has finally and definitely tipped intimates he plans to resign in May." Eighteen months later this final and definite tip had failed to materialize.

Another was the prediction that David Beck, the teamster official, would stay in Europe, a forecast printed in the Newsweek dated the day

after, Becl returned to the United States.

Feb. 11, 1957, Periscope and "Satellite Shadows, Budapest-- Don't be surprised if State Security Minister János Meunalech succeeds Janos Kadar as Premier of Hungary shortly." Readers were not surprised: Meunalech didn't succeed Kadar; Kadar is still in office at

this writing, nineteen months later.

On March 18, 1957 another Periscope said:

"The Diplomatic Wire, New York City -- Private advices of the highest quarters reached NEWSWEEK on the eve of the Bermuda conference that British Foreign Secretary Selwyn Lloyd will be out soon."

Eighteen months later, with Selwyn Lloyd still British Foreign Secretary, Newsweek mailed out a promotional letter offering, among other things:

"ACCURATE FORECASTS: You'll be the first to know what's ahead, with uncanny 'Periscope' predictions."

## No. 8

# Time Magazine and The Truth

Henry R. Luce, co-founder, editor-in-chief and largest single stockholder of Time magazine, once told a school of journalism:

"The owner-editor cannot honorably evade his personal confrontation with every aspect of truth in every aspect of his paper."

The problem of Truth in the news is an old one. In the process of struggling with it, Time magazine has, at least, solved the problem of success. It is the biggest, brightest and most powerful of the Big Three news magazines. It has a paid circulation of 2,173,000. It is the foundation for the publishing empire of Time, Inc.: Time, Life, Fortune, Sports Illustrated, Time International, Life en Espanol, House & Home, Architectural Forum and a complex of paper mills and radio-TV stations.

For millions of middle-class Americans it is the interpreter of national and world affairs. Thousands of foreigners get their major impression of the United States from it. The United States Information Agency last year distributed 1,800,000 copies free in 56 foreign countries as part of the American propaganda effort.

### On Staff

Time magazine has 500 carefully selected, well-paid staff members capable of the most skilled performance of al-

most any publication in the country. It has the most effective network of information gatherers in the United States, in terms of intensive coverage of particular subjects. On occasion its work is distinguished, showing by contrast the superficial coverage of other magazines and of many newspapers.

Time frequently answers in its stories the simple human questions that the hard-boiled types of journalism ignore.

When it has a mind to, Time can develop the possibilities of a news event more imaginatively than almost any other news organization in the world.

The magazine's writing and editing is bright, sometimes brilliant.

### But is it The Truth?

The elusiveness of Truth in terms of contemporary men and current policies must have worried the editors of Time occasionally. But if so, they have spared the reader this human doubt. Each week the world is created absolute and dogmatic, the good guys on one side, the bad guys on the other, with Time holding the only scorecard. Only when the reader checks back does he discover that the simple world of one year develops messy complications the next, or that the good guy of October may be the bad guy of January, that Truth and Time change.

### Examples Given

For example, was it the Truth, when Time reported Dwight Eisenhower's appearance at the start of his 1952 campaign in Abilene in the June 16, 1952, issue:

"They saw Ike, and they liked what they saw."

"They liked him because he turned out to be an amazingly good campaigner . . . They liked him for his strong, vigorous manner of speech, for his quiet control . . . It was a crashing conquest."

Or was it the Truth when, after the campaign was over, Time in its issue of Nov. 3, 1952, described that same week in Abilene:

"At first the echoes were not strong. Ike . . . as a political candidate . . . did not quite 'come across' . . . his voice was flat; he looked like an old man on TV . . ."

Time, during the 1952 campaign:

" . . . Stevenson tore into this straw man . . . the Democratic candidate made a careful pitch . . . In the same speech, Stevenson got in a reference to aid to India, which is getting to be the stock Democratic way of changing the subject on China."

Time, four years later:

" . . . Stevenson of 1952, a man meticulously concerned with facts. . ."

Time, before Adlai Stevenson became a presidential candidate:

Illinois has a good governor now: Adlai Ewing Stevenson. In his three years . . . Stevenson has . . . Sent state police out to stop commercial gambling downstate . . . Lopped 1,300 political hangers-on off the state payroll . . . he didn't think State's Attorney John Boyle of Chicago was a good candidate. Stevenson has largely kept hands off law enforcement in Cook County, on the theory that local authorities are better staffed to handle it. But he didn't like the way Boyle had done the job, promptly dumped Boyle.

If Lincoln Steffens was right, corruption is the norm of U.S. political life . . . But men like Adlai Stevenson have dedicated themselves to a more hopeful and dynamic proposition: that the U.S. is not a static pattern but an experiment, among other things, in good government."

Time, after Stevenson became a presidential candidate, eight days before election day.

"Stevenson . . . has himself cited his record as governor to support his argument that he can deal with corruption; he tells his audience that he knows about corruption because he followed eight years of magnificent Republican rascality. He never so much as stopped the wrist of the Cook County Democratic organization, the most corrupt and powerful of existing big-city machines."

#### At Geneva

Time Aug. 1, 1955, on President Eisenhower's accomplishment at Geneva:

"If Geneva was to be measured by the spirit, as all the participants insisted it should be, then quite a bit was achieved . . . the chances of a war started by the Russians is continuing to diminish. That was the reading of Geneva."

Time May 19, 1958, quoting Dean Acheson approvingly to support Time's thesis a summit conference should not be held.

"From former (1949-53) U.S. Secretary of State Dean Acheson came two forceful, well-argued statements on U.S. foreign policy. . . The 1955 Geneva Conference, said Dean Acheson, 'was not merely a failure; it was a fraud and positive harm. . . .'"

The changeability of Truth in the pages of Time was noted in 1955 by a Harvard student, Milton S. Gwirtzman, who listed in the Harvard Crimson some Time truths which seemed to change with political administrations.

Time, March 10, 1952, on the income tax under a Democratic administration:

"This week, once again, the American taxpayer . . . was working over his income tax return. He did not do the job happily . . . The blow in full and crushing measure, now lands each March 15 on the chin of a fellow named John Q."

#### Three Years Later

Time, April 18, 1955, on the income tax during a Republican administration:

" . . . 60 million Americans have by this week signed their 1954 income tax forms . . . They did this, wonderful to tell, without riots or protest . . . It has become more and more unfashionable to criticize the income tax level."

Time, Aug. 12, 1946, on the character of George E. Allen under a Democratic administration:

"Last week . . . the President (Truman) eased his croniest crony, George E. Allen, into the Board of Directors of Reconstruction Finance Corporation. And on Jan. 28, 1946: 'George is all the more remarkable because to the naked eye, he is a clown.'"

Time, Dec. 14, 1951, on the character of George E. Allen under a Republican administration:

"Last week . . . the President (Eisenhower) chatted quietly with . . . golfing com-

panion, George E. Allen, Washington lawyer and friend of Presidents."

Time throughout the 1956 campaign ridiculed public questions about the risk of having a sick President in office. During the politically crucial times for the President (and the American electorate), Time took the President's decision at face value, or as it said in the July 22, 1956, issue on the President's decision to run again: ". . . settled the issue with the simplicity and finality of a one-foot putt."

#### At Face Value

During the illnesses and during the campaign it took the words of Press Secretary James Hagerty at enthusiastic face value. Only afterward, Jan. 27, 1958, in an admiring profile of Presidential Press Secretary James C. Hagerty, "the best . . . White House press secretary in U.S. history," did it tell in a boys-will-be-boys context how Hagerty "at least once handed a Cabinet member a statement to read about how well Ike looked — before the man had even been in to see the President."

And 16 months after the last campaign in which the President can run, under the Constitution, Time raised the question, in its Mar. 3, 1958 issue:

"President Eisenhower is 67; the cumulative effect of his three major illnesses has sapped his second-term strengths . . . Most of the work curtailment has come in the field of domestic affairs. . . if allowed to slide, small problems can snowball into major cases, e.g., the present economic recession, and it is this area that the President's inability to ride constant herd is most felt."

The late William Allen White, once wrote:

"I think on the whole, sooner or later, the American people do get the truth. But they often get it when it is cold potatoes and does them no good."

# Time: 'They Depend on Its Accuracy'

Time magazine once claimed that the top men in their fields or work in America vote Time their favorite magazine: "They depend on its accuracy."

Some surveys show that this may be less than accurate, since many top men say they do not have confidence in Time's accuracy.

Yet "accuracy" is not always easy to judge in journalism. In a simple event it may be so elementary as the correct names of people in an incident. But in a worldwide phenomenon it may be a matter of judgment, knowledge and the integrity of the reporter.

The dominant role in American journalism is objectivity, or the reporting of facts with a minimum of the reporter's own opinions about them. This too has difficulties. As Time once said in its Press section in a piece entitled, "The Fiction of Objectivity":

One of the most treacherous journalistic clichés is that a news story should always let the facts speak for themselves. Thoughtful newspapermen know that the facts alone seldom can; that they speak clearly only when they are told in proper order and perspective — and thus interpreted by an honest journalist.

The question is: does the reporter collect all the facts for use and to draw a picture based on the facts? Or does he have a preconceived idea and collect only the facts that tend it out?

There is abundant evidence that in its National Affairs and Foreign News sections Time's mind is made up before the events begin. But ordinarily its departments in the back of the magazine — Art, Books, Cinema, Education, Medicine, Music, Press, Religion, TV & Radio, Science, Sports, Theater — score high in imagination and taste.

In these departments

Time's inherent talent seems to operate without the distorting lens that focuses on politics and Asia policy.

In American politics and foreign news, Time's reporting appears to be governed by an iron rule: when the facts fit the mold of Time's wishes, the reporting can be superb; when they do not fit the mold, Time's reporting can be so distorted as to raise serious questions about responsibility in mass communications.

It was interesting then, on March 17, 1958, to see the conclusions-first-or-facts-first problem appear in the back of the magazine, in the Press Section. Here, in a piece entitled "Silver-Lining the Slump?" Time concluded that in general American newspapers were suppressing news of the recession, or as it said: "Newspapers from Seattle to Savannah were doing their unlevel best to bull their way through one of the nation's biggest — and most botched — running stories: the recession."

Was this true?

It is certainly possible.

What evidence did Time present?

It did not report that for months businessmen, economists and politicians had been complaining that the daily press was sensationalizing the slump and therefore deepening it. Time itself has called such reports "gloom-sayers."

(Time, reporting clouds, also found silver linings, as on Nov. 11, 1957: "Fundamentally, the U.S. was still more productive and prosperous than any nation in history. . . . The economy was — and would continue to be — a husky and growing thing. . . ." Time, Dec. 2, 1957: "The uneasy sign in the nation's economic picture is not the statistical droop but the mood. . . . Despite the recent drops, the U.S. economy still

has a long way to go before it approaches the slump of 1953-54 — which economists now refer to as the 'gold-plated' recession." Time, Dec. 9, 1957: "THE PROFIT SQUEEZE, It Is More Apparent Than Real." Time, Dec. 30, 1957: "Anticipation of recession was scarier than the realization. . . .")

To support its conclusion that daily newspapers were suppressing news of the recession, Time offered the reader 14 specific items of evidence.

No. 1 was its lead sentence: "DECLINE HERE? DON'T BELIEVE IT!" headlined the Fort Worth Star-Telegram on Page One last week." This was a correct quotation of the headline and it was a story on the rosy side, listing aircraft and defense contracts in effect locally. Time did not report that the same newspaper was regularly running even bigger headlines on Page One, like the eight-column, 72-point banner:

TEXAS OIL ALLOWABLE SLASHED TO ALL-TIME LOW and the five-column, 72-point: 5,200,000 JOBLESS. While Time praised a few papers for running financial columnist Sylvia Porter, who, it said, reported the slump realistically, it did not say the Fort Worth Star-Telegram carries Sylvia Porter.

Item No. 2 "Though more than 50,000 workers are out of jobs in Georgia's four largest cities, the Atlanta Journal has zealously kept the state's slump off the front page, and until last week, even banned the word recession from the paper." This appears to be inaccurate: The Atlanta Journal earlier sent its own reporters through the state and then ran on Page One their stories telling of a serious depression in agriculture, Georgia's major activity. The term, "cur-



rent business recession" is found on Page One months before the Time story.

Item No. 3. "In Los Angeles, where layoffs have idled nearly 6 per cent of the work force, Hearst's Herald & Express whooped: ROSY L.A. ECONOMY SEEN." That paper has been looking for a silver lining, such as the story quoted (which also had as a part of its headline the factual matter "Multi-Million Projects to Boost Business.") If the Herald & Express "whooped" with the story, it "whooped" on Page Eight. Other recession and unemployment stories had appeared on more prominent pages.

Item No. 4. "Scripps-Howard's Memphis Press-Scimitar last week ran a glowing story on expansion plans for a local Firestone Tire & Rubber Co. plant—without mentioning that 2,600 of its 3,800 employees have been laid off." This appears to be entirely inaccurate. The paper ran no story, "glowing" or otherwise, about Firestone expansion that week. A statement by a company official posted expansion ran six days earlier. The Firestone company, says, that at no time did it lay off 2,600 employees laid off. An official said: "In no month during that period were as many as 10 per cent of that figure laid off."

Item No. 5. "In Atlanta, the Journal suppressed the news of a layoff of 2,000 Lockheed Aircraft workers last fall until it could report

that the factory had found other jobs for them." The Lockheed company announced the layoffs Aug. 15. The Atlanta Constitution, morning side of the Constitution-Journal combination, ran the story on Page One the morning of Aug. 15. The Journal ran it with a three-column headline on an inside page that afternoon. Its story on the factory finding other jobs for workers ran four months later when the company announced it.

A check of the 14 items of evidence of suppression shows almost the same pattern throughout. In one case it reported the opposite of what an editor, noted for his integrity, says he told the Time reporter. In a display of headlines clipped from newspapers, which Time presented as "HOPEFUL HEADLINES," "We don't want to scare advertisers," it used headlines that accurately summarized speeches and public statements; in one case the headline quoted was sarcastic, stressing by irony that times are bad; in others it showed small, inside-page headlines while ignoring Page One 36-point headlines in the same paper saying, "SLUMP WORSE."

In another case it took part of a headline display and did not reproduce the main portion, which gave the total an opposite impact. In another it reproduced a Page Two headline over a report of a national speech: to cut this out it must have been necessary to pass the scissors a quarter of an inch from an-

other 36-point headline on a report of a speech reading: **GOP IS GETTING SLUMP IT PLANNED.**

Thus, of the 14 "facts" Time presented to the reader to support its conclusion, one was correct; two were apparently wrong (based on what men later say they said, granting they could conceivably have said something else in private earlier); six were so unrepresentative as to give an essentially false impression; and five were demonstrably false.

It is possible American daily newspapers did play down the recession, but it has not been proved by Time in any evidence it gave the reader.

One month after Time's story, its competitor, Newsweek, reported: "HOW U.S. NEWSPAPERS ARE COVERING THE RECESSION"

Wire-service logs showed that, in quantity of copy and the play it was getting, the recession was easily the biggest story of the spring season. . . . Syndicated writers shuttled in and out of hard-hit industrial centers. . . . Most newsmen agreed it was their duty to report the story as they found it, whether the news was good or bad.

This, too, could be unrepresentative, since the magazine drew its own conclusions from its own collection of facts.

It gives added significance to the Time statement:

"The facts . . . speak clearly only when they are told in proper order and perspective and thus interpreted—by an honest journalist."

## No. 10

# Time, Tone and Tainted Words

While Time has been known to be inaccurate in its facts, this is not the key to its reportage.

The key is not what Time says, but how it says it. It is not the hard news reported to it by The New York Times, the New York Herald Trib-

une, the Associated Press, United Press International, and its own staff in the field.

The key is how it is written in the high reaches of the editorial offices in Rocketteller Center, New York.

Noel Busch, cousin of the late Briton Hadden, the man

who co-founded Time magazine in 1923 with Henry R. Luce, says of his experience on the magazine that Time regards as ideal that:

"Writers should not witness the events they write about."

It is the writer away from

the scene, passing the story back and forth among the editors, who gives to the Time story the impact it will have on the reader. When it comes to domestic policy and foreign affairs, this impact often seems to be unrelated to the facts. The hard core of known events can be immersed in an impenetrable fog of emotional judgment. The reader can lay down a story with a point of view and never know precisely how he got it.

If one isolates the facts from the tone words added by Time's editors, the pattern appears. It is typical of Time's political reporting that the political world is generally divided into the forces of evil and the forces of virtue. If a political figure is a devil—in Time's perdition—he helps an elderly lady across the street just to impress the neighbors. If he is a political angel—floating in Time's heaven—his hand at the aged elbow is evidence of an innate kindness.

In 1951, the secretary of state, Dean Acheson, was a Time devil, an outstanding culprit of the Truman-Acheson Gang. While Time was not alone in characterizing Acheson as a menace, it was perhaps the most sophisticated and effective organ in destroying public confidence in Acheson. It did this not so much with rational argument and fact, as with the tone words added in Rockefeller

Center. Such words from its cover story on Acheson on Jan. 8, 1951 include:

... This week ... he expanded his gloomy note ... What people thought of Dean Gooderham Acheson ranged from the proposition that he was a fellow traveler, or a wool-brained sower of 'seeds of jackassery' or an abysmally uncomprehending man, or an appeaser or a warmonger who was taking the U.S. into a world war, to the warm if not so audible defense that he was a great secretary of state, a brilliant executor of the best of all possible foreign programs ... tall, elegant and unruffled ... either rode to work in a department limousine, or walked with little Justice Felix Frankfurter ... In his fifth floor office in ... Foggy Bottom he tried not to listen to the criticism ... with his blue, slightly protuberant eyes studied his foreign policy. It was not a very encouraging study ... to what extent was Acheson to blame ... Acheson's involvement ... Acheson therefore inherited some of the policies and problems which he had helped create ... was well on the way to becoming an immeasurable disaster ... one of the major decisions and disastrous phases that have boomeranged to plague him ... The one reason ... was to provide Acheson's State Department with an alibi for its share in

China's tragic disaster ... State Department, by its acts and by its failures to act ... had bribed ... thrown China's door open to Russia ... Acheson's State Department continued hopefully to stroke the fur of the Red leader ... most notable survivor among the architects of the 'China mistake' is Secretary Acheson ... The case against Dean Acheson ... policy has disastrously failed in Asia. The misreading of the Red Chinese ... he must take full responsibility ... the old animus against Chiang Kai-shek ... On the record, U.S. policy in Europe is in a crucial state of hesitation ... Acheson and the Administration ... could not get around the fact of Western Europe's anguished resignation ... Acheson had been invariably punctilious and polite ... in the end ... he had too frequently let himself be pulled down to the level of his hem-hawing, tiptoeing fellow conferees ... The question was whether a different secretary of state might have done more ... He possesses some of the intellectual arrogance ... a highly civilized man, an intellectual snob ... No blood, no sweat, no tears ever smudge the neat laundering of Acheson's sentences, or the mannerisms of his theories ... the U.S. people ... cannot quite tune in on him ... Has Dean Acheson become ... a national danger? ...

## Under An Avalanche—The Facts

In its Jan. 8, 1955 issue, Time did a cover story on Secretary of State John Foster Dulles. Like Acheson, Dulles had become a matter of bitter dispute in the United States. The tone words and phrases from that story:

... John Foster Dulles looked squarely at the man ... pressed Molotov with greater skill and force than any U.S. diplomat had ever shown ... one sharp stroke after another ... Dulles rescued other millions from gullibility ... trips to re-

inforce the free world outposts ... develop cohesion and strength ... Dulles played the key role ... Dulles' patient year of work and travel ... Dulles both drew upon and nourished U.S. confidence ... this emphasis on U.S. interests had a wholesome effect of stimulating the national prides of other Western nations ... he played the year's most effective role ... he was nimble in disentangling himself from his errors ... after long and careful negotiation ... Dulles

played goalkeeper in the free world's two major setbacks ... Dulles has said quite pointedly ... A smaller man than Dulles might have insisted ... had a brilliant career ... applied Christian principles to historic realities ... soundest bit of diplomacy ... He has explained ... he has demonstrated ... Dulles' restraint was deliberate ... his highly practical analysis ... Dulles analyzed ... was all the more forceful because Dulles' line had already been proved right.

At that kind of diplomatic opinion-molding, John Foster Dulles is a master. . . . He recognizes the importance works hard . . . . tries again, tirelessly . . . gained new confidence . . . . remarkable for their sweep and clarity . . . . goes tirelessly about that business . . . . displays a tremendous capacity for concentration and work . . . . depth of the concentration . . . .

Dulles is providing direction . . . . cleared the ground . . . . stop epidemics of fear . . . . Dulles disregarded the cries of those . . . .

These words, into which are inserted matters of fact, penetrate the reader's emotions ahead of the facts.

They are, in the main, opinions and characterizations by Time editors.

Both Acheson and Dulles were centers of bitter controversy at home, and Dulles abroad. It would be unrealistic in the extreme to expect any news to make a mathematically or emotionally precise division pro-and-con. And in commentary one is dealing with opinion and judgment.

But it is interesting that of about 640 lines on Acheson in the Time story, about 74 per cent is directly negative and critical; in the 670 lines on Dulles, only 4 per cent.

What is, perhaps, more important is that in dealing with facts which Time itself accepts, the impact on the reader is emotionally manipulated. One way is by innuendo and subtle reference. Time did not repeat directly the common anti-Acheson phrase of the time recalling that Acheson had said he would not turn his back on Alger Hiss. But it did use the phrase obliquely twice in the story: "Although he might have preferred to turn his back on the East" . . . . and "Asia on which he had turned his back."

A major method of loading the story is to mention the positive arguments for a devil and follow with material wiping it out. Thus, of the 640 lines on Acheson, 23 are devoted to the major

achievements which Time attributed to Acheson's regime, which on reflection, appear considerable: Lend-Lease, UNRRA, World Bank, Export-Import Bank, Truman Doctrine, Marshall Plan, NATO. But though it took 17 words to describe that "Acheson presided over the signing of the North Atlantic Treaty creating (on paper) a collective defense system," it then took 22 words immediately afterward to say, "The idea had not been his; it had originated in a resolution presented by Senator Arthur Vandenberg, approved by a Republican Senate. . . ."

Again, when it mentioned his "new anti-Russian policy," it followed by saying that it fell short of the need.

In the case of Dulles, some 96 per cent is devoted to approving and positive declarations. Curiously, it made some damning statements — but these consisted of 14 lines inserted after the first 430 lines followed by 210 lines of more praise, then 12 lines of criticism, and a final conclusion of high approval. The two small negative insertions might strike a reader as somewhat underemphasized: "Despite these attempts . . . the free world came to a year's end with a net loss and a troubled outlook in Asia." And "After two years in office, the Eisenhower Administration has failed to plug the yawning gap in its foreign policy."

Time did not exclude unpleasant fact completely. In the case of a man it condemned, Acheson, it buried 62 lines of his considerable achievements in an avalanche — 477 lines — of emotionally loaded words that stained the image. In the case of a man it approved of, Dulles it buried 26 lines of grave and fundamental criticism, in an avalanche, 617 lines, of words that glowed with heroic praise.

Underneath it all, the reader could extract the basic facts if he worked at it. But the basic facts could conceiv-

ably come in a form which does the Time reader — a citizen who votes — no good.

If, on the other hand, one grants that Time has a right to its opinions, one may judge how the opinions hold up.

In the Dulles profile, Time's opinion was:

"Regionally, 1954's greatest area of success for American diplomacy and the man who runs it was the Middle East. There, a number of old problems were solved by new approaches . . . the status of the Suez Canal area was settled more firmly than ever before . . . the settlement was skillfully midwived by the U.S. State Department."

According to some observers, Suez resulted in one of the gravest disasters for the West and for American diplomacy in this decade, and Hungary brought a disillusionment with America's "liberation" policy. Yet during this period, Time, on Dec. 13, 1956, told the reader that things were never better for the United States position abroad:

"The world's gaze and the world's hopes were directed toward Washington as rarely before . . . In time of crisis and threat of World War III, President Eisenhower had cast U.S. policy in a role to reflect the U.S.'s basic character . . . ."

Walter Lippmann that same week said ". . . the initiative and the power are not in our hands, and we found ourselves doing what we did not want to do . . . ."

James Reston, chief of The New York Times Washington bureau, said that the general feeling in Washington was that "the Soviet Union and Egypt have scored a tremendous victory."

Obviously, Time disagreed with both. The magazine said Reston "reported nonsensically."

Later, Editor-in-Chief Henry R. Luce of Time wrote to Reston apologizing. Mr. Luce wrote that Reston was not nonsensical, he was only wrong.

# 'Ike's Promise' vs. 'Adlai's Pitch'

A symbolic word for the discriminating reader of Time magazine is "cry."

In the normal vocabulary it is a verb meaning to make a loud call, to utter lamentations, or to weep.

But in the special lexicon of Time it means: A Fool is Shouting Hysterical Nonsense.

For in Time villains "cry," the heroes "solemnly state."

There are other words the student of Time learns. The modern Republican President of the United States when irritated "snaps" back an answer. "Snap" means that the question has been in bad taste or stupid, and the President is showing manly spirit. But a New Deal-Fair Deal Democratic President "snarls" or "sputters" or "spouts."

The outstanding characteristic of the political reporting of Time magazine is that without telling the reader why, the magazine surrounds personalities with an emotional aura, sometimes with adjectives, sometimes with verbs, sometimes with figures of speech.

Stylistically, the result is the most dramatic, crisp and evocative language in the news profession. But politically it is a vapor of bias that seeps into the text, clouding facts and bypassing the normal critical judgment of the reader. It is a highly artistic technique, but a study of Time's behavior in recent political campaigns shows that it is used as a partisan political weapon.

A study of the magazine during the 1952 and 1956 Presidential campaigns leaves the impression that Time magazine was the most effective propaganda printed for the benefit of the Republican National Committee.

It has appeared in the balance of space, in the selection of facts, and in the use of pictures and illustration.

But the chief weapon was the emotional prejudgment with which it surrounded the news.

A reader cannot argue long over a strictly personal selection of adjectives by a writer. But if these selections fall into a clear political pattern, the reader has a right to know it.

In the Sept. 1, 1952 issue, under "REPUBLICANS, The Rediscovery," a story about Dwight Eisenhower—leaving out the news core—began:

"A great American soldier disclosed political greatness rediscovered courage as a policy for a nation. Out of his own wide experience with the fateful issues of the 20th century Dwight D. Eisenhower phrased a definition of the peril besetting the U.S."

... a definition so compelling ... it displayed ... his credentials as a candidate for President ... a good speech, in both the moral and political sense ... Ike calculated with grim arithmetic ... turned to the kind of shrewd analysis ... which the U.S. seldom hears from its officials.

In the same issue, under "DEMOCRATS, Away From It All," a story about Adlai Stevenson—leaving out the news core—began:

"Candidate Adlai Stevenson climbed into his state-owned, two-engined Beechcraft last week and flew off to the Wisconsin woods ... hours loafing ... a little half-hearted casting ... Evenings he lolled in the bearskin-draped living room before a fieldstone fireplace big enough to take 7-foot logs, which were hauled automatically from the basement at the touch of a button ... he did little work."

On Oct. 10, 1956, Time reported the appearance of both Stevenson and Eisenhower at a farmer's gathering:

"Here, on rolling land near Newton, Iowa, some 8,000 American farmers and townsmen, their wives, kids and relatives assembled ... giving their attention to their honorary chairman — President Dwight Eisenhower — honed to intellectual sharpness ... dwelt on a theme ... his own inner peace."

"From the same giant platform ... Adlai Stevenson made a major bid for the farm vote at Newton ... Stevenson promised the farmers everything but the moon on behalf of the Democrats ... From the past, Stevenson dragged out a familiar Democratic tactic ... contended Adlai, in an astonishing defense of ..."

The title of the Eisenhower story was: "Ike's Promise."

The title of the Stevenson story was: "Adlai's Pitch."

This relatively subtle technique does not mean that Time neglected the blunt instrument of loaded pictures. In the 13 issues covering the 1952 campaign, Time printed 21 photographs of Eisenhower, all of them showing him in a favorable light—heroic, or friendly, or earnest. Stevensons' face in these issues appeared only 13 times, the two largest facial shots from photographs taken 30 years before, and 40 per cent of the total showed Stevenson in unflattering poses eating, drinking, or grimacing.

Eisenhower's picture appeared on Page One of National Affairs in Time three times, on Page Two four times during the campaign period. Stevenson's never appeared on Page One of National Affairs.

Time carefully preserved the image of Eisenhower in the 1956 campaign, although in the Democratic past it had shown marked irreverence for political sacred cows. In 1956 it dealt heavily in cartoons. In the 13 pre-



election issues, it showed 10 pictures involving the personal figure of Stevenson, all of them derogatory. It showed none that portrayed Eisenhower personally in a derogatory way.

Time's treatment of the campaign in 1956 was so consistently biased that it would be reasonable to label it campaign literature. While Eisenhower regularly "dwelt" on subjects or stated them,

Stevenson "cried" or, as Time said Oct. 8, 1956, "... Adlai Stevenson went whirling across the U.S. landscape last week, spouting sparks and smoke.

## Corsets, Fog and Golliwogs

Time's severest distortions are in the area of national politics and China policy, where Time's reporting is biased almost beyond use, in many instances. Both appear to be matters of deep conviction on the part of Editor-in-Chief Henry R. Luce. He is involved more deeply in the present administration than any other American publisher. And as the son of missionaries in China, where Luce grew up, it is said that the Editor-in-Chief retains the dream of Christianizing China and insists on unflagging support of Christian Chiang Kai-shek.

The bias does not usually keep important facts out of the magazine. But sympathetic facts are presented with dignity and joy; unsympathetic ones with ridicule and contempt. One imagines, for example, that when Time describes the Modern Republican candidates there are 500 voices raised in "The Battle Hymn of the Republic." But when it describes the Fair

Dealing Democrats, the editors are making Bronx cheers.

Describing the visiting dignitaries at the 1952 Republican convention, Time said:

"And there was former President Herbert Hoover... the old gentleman smiled a cautious smile... Time had whitened his hair... and softened the lines of his face. For 20 years he had suffered with dignity and without complaint an auto da fe of criticism such as few men... have ever endured... But this was his night among friends..."

Describing the visiting dignitaries at the 1952 Democratic convention:

"Hefty, hearty India Edwards... a woman with an eye on the vice presidency... tramped to the speaker's stand splendidly corseted... fogged in some fast-fading lines... Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt, whose new frizzy hairdo made her look like a genial golliwog..."

One need not be unkind to Mr. Hoover nor emotional

about Mrs. Roosevelt to note that Time had whitened Herbert Hoover's hair, but only made Mrs. Roosevelt's look like a golliwog.

The difference in the descriptions of these two persons in Time is unimportant. What is important is that the corset-golliwog content of Democratic stories was always high during the campaigns and practically absent in Republican stories; and the "suffered with dignity" content was high in Republican stories, absent in Democratic.

Time, one suspects, has political bifocal glasses, that its editors look downward at the corsets of Democrats and upward at The Higher Things in Life among the Republicans.

Nor need one be pro-Democratic or anti-Republican to question the ethics of such political reporting in a publication that tells the reader he is getting news in "Time, The Weekly Newsmagazine."

## Friends Have Souls, Enemies Messy Details

Time pursues its political enemies and boosts its friends by another technique. If facts are damaging to friends, it mentions the facts briefly and then rebuts them at length or dismisses them with editorial contempt. If they are damaging to enemies Time dwells on them at length, may even base its entire reportage on them and accepts them as proved conclusions.

When, for example, the 1952 Republican convention compromised the civil rights issue, Time reported, "...

one of the convention's youngest and prettiest delegates was the central figure in a struggle over civil rights. Mrs. Mildred Younger, a 31-year-old Los Angeles housewife, presided over the civil rights subcommittee with an intelligent, calm hand... The subcommittee was bitterly divided... As a result... came out with a plank that each side could construe as it wished."

A short time later the Democrats did the same thing:

"To satisfy two men with

such divergent views on civil rights as Russell and Harri-man was a real triumph in fence-straddling for Stevenson."

Pretty Mrs. Younger presided with an intelligent hand; Stevenson fence-straddled.

Often during the campaign, Time did not trust the Republicans to make their own arguments, but provided the reader with its own. When television viewers saw that the Republican delegates at the convention paid no attention whatever to the plat-

form, Time volunteered: "The delegates' inattention was not necessarily evidence that they did not care what was in the platform. They knew that the resolutions committee. . . ."

Another technique is to concentrate on the mechanics or the messy details of an enemy operation, but to dwell on the spiritual side of a friend. When Sen. John Sparkman was nominated Democratic vice presidential candidate in 1952:

"John Jackson Sparkman, who had just been nominated for Vice President of the United States, stopped grinning, fished a cough drop out of his mouth and slipped it through a crack in the platform floor. 'There,' commented an unsympathetic observer bitterly, 'is a man who has every quality a Democratic candidate for Veep needs: he's from the South. This comment contained considerable truth. . . . Sparkman, in fact, is so resolute a compromiser that it takes a political micrometer to tell just where he stands. . . ."

But apparently Time had no unsympathetic observers at the Republican convention: "The meeting quickly settled on California's Richard Nixon. No deal was involved. Nixon was a logical choice. . . . Its description of Sparkman during the campaign was minimal but repeated many criticisms made by others. Its treatment of Nixon did not, although Nixon had been bitterly criticized by many Americans:

" . . . the most up-to-date attraction at the Illinois State Fair last week was a good-looking, dark-haired young man with a manner both aggressive and modest, and a personality to delight any

political Barker. He seemed to have everything—a fine TV manner, an attractive family, a good war record, deep sincerity and religious faith. . . . He was Richard Milhous (pronounced mill house) Nixon, Republican nominee for Vice President. . . ."

Time tended to take Republican statements at face value, and where the Republicans failed to say things, Time volunteered them; if the Republicans said embarrassing things, Time explained them away. Yet what Democrats said usually was looked at critically, or cynically, and then rebutted. During the 1956 campaign, for example:

"One day last week Stevenson . . . was disturbed, he said, that the Republicans might be trying to fob off Eisenhower upon a 'docile, complacent, carefree people all happily chanting, 'Peace, Prosperity and Progress—ain't it wonderful' . . . Candidate Stevenson obviously felt he had a point. . . . Time then went on to explain on its own—in a report of Democratic campaign activities: "The U.S. has learned to live with its crises with equanimity. . . . if there seems to be little interest in it as an election-year issue, it is only because the search is constant and the U.S. is always new!"

Time regularly in the campaign drifted from Republican statements into heroic prose affirming those statements. And it regularly devoted part of the space under its heading "DEMOCRATS" to Republican (or its own) attacks on Democrats.

In a cover story on Vice-Presidential candidate Kefauver it started with a reference to Kefauver pitching manure and thereafter put

the word "shovel" and "pitch" in the text describing his speeches. Aside from this, directly derogatory material constituted 30 per cent of the story, with Time adding editorial agreement. The companion story on Nixon was an almost unbroken epic of approval, brushing past criticisms to ever higher praise: " . . . while he is a politician to his fingertips, Nixon is a man of consistent principle, whose values are as sound and fundamental as any in U.S. politics today. . . . Had Nixon been the weak, unprincipled character that his more choleric enemies make him out to be, he might well have given up. . . ."

In an October, 1952, profile of Stevenson, 55 per cent was unflattering, derogatory or otherwise damaging, much of that 55 per cent being used to counter or nullify positive material. The Eisenhower cover story had only three per cent derogatory lines and with these Time took the initiative to answer:

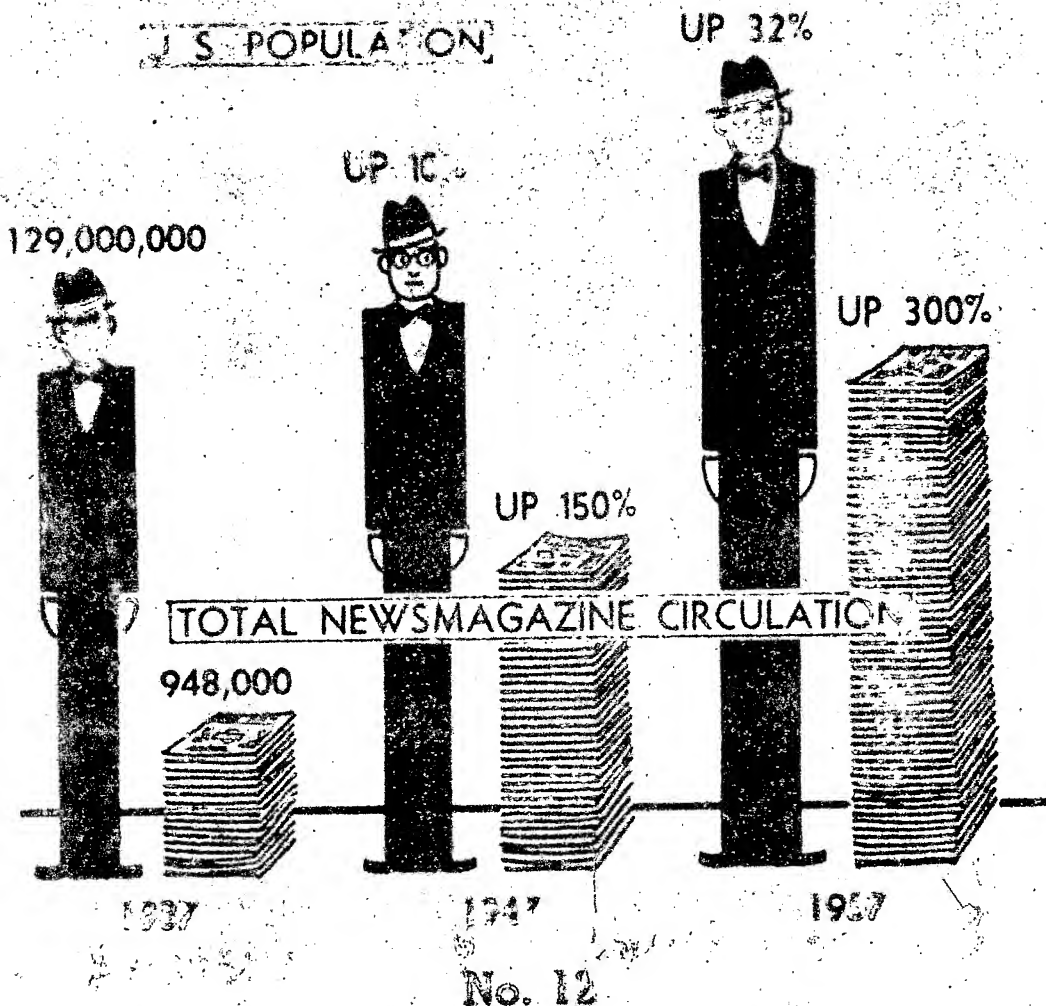
"One of the Democratic charges against Eisenhower is that he is vague on issues. Actually, while Ike's prose is vague in style, his speeches are highly specific in content. . . ."

Time's treatment of domestic politics is dramatic political polemics and it is certainly identifiable as free political opinion. But it is not reliable political reporting by any non-partisan standard.

An analysis of its behavior during the 1952 and 1956 political campaigns casts serious doubts on its own early prospectus:

"There will be no editorial page in Time.

"No article will be written to prove any special case."



## News magazines: A Service and a Threat

The news magazines—Time, Newweek, and U.S. News & World Report—constitute one of the most encouraging phenomena in American political development and one of the most discouraging in American mass communications.

The spectacular growth of the magazines undoubtedly reflects a greater public interest in world affairs and an increasing desire to understand what the news means.

The rise of the magazines has been dramatic ever since the mid-1930s. Time began in 1923, Newsweek in 1933, and U.S. News & World Report in two stages, 1940 and 1948.

In 1937 Time's net paid

circulation was 670,000. Newsweek's forerunner, News-Week, had 278,000. Last year the American population had increased 30 per cent since 1937, but the combined news magazine circulation had gone up more than 300 per cent.

All news media became more popular during this time, including newspapers, for a number of reasons: The Great Depression and the New Deal brought politics close to the life of the average man; so did World War II and the constant postwar threat of World War III. During this same period, literacy, educational levels and income increased steadily.

Thus, while only eight

news magazines were sold for every 1,000 Americans in 1937, 25 were sold in 1957. This three-fold increase in the per capita reading of news interpretation should encourage anyone anxious for a democratic people to keep informed and maintain understanding of what is happening in the world.

But at the same time, the magazines have presented national and world events as "news" by new, special techniques ranging from dramatic oversimplification to full-fledged partisan propaganda.

Each of the three magazines has had its particular interests in the news and has tended to fit the presentation of the facts to those interests.

Sometimes this has permitted good, clear narration of events. But over the years it has been a narration that has to fit a mold.

The general bias of the three magazines is all on the same side of the American political arena. U.S. News & World Report has a net impact that agrees with its editor's ultra-conservative political and social opinions. Newsweek appears to fluctuate between orthodox business-and-trade interests and straight news. And Time is religiously committed to Modern Republicanism.

The generalizations have to be conditioned. When Time's dominant political interest is not threatened, it takes independent lines on civil liberties and other non-political matters. Newsweek's apparent lack of unity makes it less dramatic. And the technique of U.S. News & World Report printing large quantities of

primary documents in public affairs means that opposing points of view see the light of day, even though overbalanced by material agreeing with the editor.

This same kind of problem afflicts American newspapers in another way. In their stated commitments and their endorsements of candidates, the majority of American daily newspapers are pro-Republican.

The difference lies in the operating traditions of newspapers that call for strict separation of news and opinion. This tradition has been strong and overwhelming during the last generation. It holds that news will be presented without comment by the reporter or the editor, and without a political slant. Where political bias is expressed, it should be on the editorial page or in signed columns whose authors can

be judged by name and reputation.

Certainly, this tradition is not upheld all the time on all papers. Some biased stories are printed in all newspapers from time to time because reporters and editors are human and vary in their competence and discipline. And a few newspapers consistently have biased news because their proprietors reject the tradition.

But on the whole, American newspapers have produced an audience used to generally objective stories on politics and social affairs. This is augmented by the heavy use of the relatively unpolitical wire services -- Associated Press, United Press International, and Reuters. The rule of objectivity is followed so rigidly on so many newspapers that many serious students of mass communications think the newspapers overdo it.

## Proper Function, Tricky Technique

The problem of the American newsmagazine is that it presents a subtly loaded political story or a dramatically over-simplified one to an audience conditioned to having outright political argument labeled. The problem is compounded by the fact that the newsmagazines go largely to middle-class readers who probably do not have a high interest in literary analysis and political sophistication.

The weekly is a solid institution in England. But the weeklies in England are presented as analysis, not straight news; they cover the entire political spectrum from Socialist to Tory, they go largely to the highly educated reader who is in the habit of reading critically, and they are, on the whole, written as rational analysis.

The bias of the American newsmagazines is not stated. They all imply they are news. Henry R. Luce, of Time, insists personally that his magazine does have a point of

view and tells the reader what The Truth is, but he continues to call the publication, "The Weekly Newsmagazine." And the point of view is generally not presented in rational analysis but by the emotional coloration of personalities and events in a subtle, indirect manner to an audience traditionally unprepared for such manipulation.

It may be encouraging to some that the newsmagazine closest to the journalistic tradition of objectivity, U.S. News & World Report, has been growing the fastest in recent years. Its predecessor, United States News, had 10 per cent of the Big Three circulation in 1947 but had 22 per cent in 1957. And Time, which is the most loaded of all, had 70 per cent of the circulation 20 years ago and only 51 per cent last year.

But the total combined circulation has risen so fast that it still includes absolute

gains of a large magnitude for all the magazines. The newsmagazines had 948,000 circulation 20 years ago, have 4,200,000 now. The numbers who read each issue are greater still. The magazines have multiple attractions for the whole family, they are printed on attractive, durable paper, and they are engagingly illustrated.

Some of the peculiarities of the newsmagazines have only passing importance. The compulsion to prophesy in U.S. News & World Report and in Newsweek, for example, builds up the illusion of an overly simple world to which each magazine has the only keyhole. Time avoids formal forecasting of events, possibly because its commercial inheritance includes the old Literary Digest. Time bought the Digest after the Digest had destroyed its reputation in 1936 with a widely ballyhooed "scientific" prediction that Alfred Landon would defeat Franklin

Roosevelt is carrying 32 votes. Mr. Landon got two votes. But in any case, prophecy is a relatively unimportant weakness.

What is more important is that the newsmagazines are a new phenomenon in American politics. They have arisen in the present form only in this generation, a generation unprepared for the special forms of influence which the newsmagazines use.

In many respects, this influence is comparable to modern advertising techniques of depth probing and psychological motivation. By using many of these methods in the presentation of news interpretation, the newsmagazines are influencing a generation of middle-class voters who are extremely sensitive to conventional bias in newspaper stories but almost totally unaware of the new techniques in newsmagazines.

For example, during the 1952 and 1956 presidential campaigns, Time magazine probably was read by most of its subscribers as a source of news on American politics. Most of the subscribers had grown in the tradition of separation of news and opinion in their daily newspapers. Few of them had any analytical experience with the literary presentation of news. But what they read in Time during these crucial months was campaign literature of an extremely skillful, almost artistic nature which manipulated emotions under the implication that it was providing "news."

The retelling of the news at the end of the week and its interpretation from a particular point of view both are legitimate and useful.

But there would appear to be a need for public recognition that in the area of

national politics and economics and in certain other special issues (such as Time's Asia policy and U.S. News & World Report on integration) they are confronted not with simple news or rational interpretation, but with magazines of opinion.

The major problems would seem to be that the combined bias of all the newsmagazines is all on the same general side of American politics, and that they pursue this bias with nonrational techniques with which the average reader has had no previous experience and against which he has little defense.

Consequently, the newsmagazines constitute both a problem in normal development of American politics and in the dissemination of news and interpretation of world events.



UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

## Memorandum

TO : Mr. DeLoach

DATE: 5-23-61

FROM : D. C. Morrell

SUBJECT: BEN HAIG BAGDIKIAN  
WASHINGTON CORRESPONDENT FOR  
THE PROVIDENCE, RHODE ISLAND,  
"JOURNAL-BULLETIN"

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Parsons \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Belmont \_\_\_\_\_  
Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
Evans \_\_\_\_\_  
Malone \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
W.C. Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Ingram \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

Captioned individual prepared a feature article concerning the Director's 37th Anniversary and, throughout the entire item, made a number of snide comments relative to the FBI and to Mr. Hoover. The Director has noted: "See that Bagdikian is not on our mailing lists and gets no cooperation. H." He also described Bagdikian's article as "utter bunk." Bagdikian is not on any of the Bureau's mailing lists.

BEN HAIG BAGDIKIAN  
Bufiles indicate that Bagdikian was born on 1-30-20 in Marash, Turkey. He entered the United States at New York City on 6-1-20, when he was approximately two months old, and subsequently obtained citizenship on a derivative basis through his father, Aram, who was naturalized 3-29-26. Bagdikian was employed by the Providence "Journal-Bulletin" about 2-15-47, having come to Rhode Island from Monroe, Louisiana.

BEN BAGDIKIAN  
Bagdikian previously wrote a series of six articles captioned, "What Price Security," which appeared in the "Washington Star" May 29 through June 3, 1955. These were critical of several phases of the loyalty investigations of Government employees.

The Bureau has experienced considerable difficulty in the past with the "Journal-Bulletin." In June, 1949, it editorially criticized the FBI's investigative procedures and called for an investigation of the Bureau by an independent commission. The particular target was the use of confidential informants, and the paper stated that the use of such individuals could destroy the country. The news stories following the editorial attack said that the FBI was almost immune to the traditional process of checks and balances; that in relations with the Attorney General, the Director was the master and not the servant; that in espionage and subversive investigations the FBI was incompetent; and other vicious statements of the same nature were made.

- 1 - Mr. DeLoach - enclosure  
1 - Mr. M. A. Jones - enclosure

HHA:mb

(5) JUN 16 1961

XEROX

JUN 14 1961

REC-64

17 JUN 13 1961

62-71717-10  
CRIME RESEARCH  
HHA

UNRECORDED COPY FILED IN

D. C. Morrell to DeLoach

5-23-61

RE: BEN HAIG BAGDIKIAN

In 1957, Mr. John C. A. Watkins became the publisher of "The Providence Journal" and relations with the newspaper have improved since that time. Mr. Watkins was given a special tour of the Bureau on 4-25-57. In September, 1959, the FBI cooperated with a reporter from the paper in preparing an article on bank robberies. Upon completion of the article, the Director forwarded a letter to the reporter, Mr. Lawrence M. Howard, in appreciation. Mr. Watkins has been cooperative with the Bureau and his paper published an editorial concerning Mr. Hoover's 37th Anniversary. He was thanked for this on 5-15-61.

RECOMMENDATION:

None. For information.

*[Handwritten signatures and initials]* ✓

# Hoover

Continued From Page One

Bureau of Investigation. Mr. Hoover exacted the promise, "No politics, no outside influence." Then he took the job.

From a sleepy agency spending most of its time investigating anti-trust suits and interstate prostitution, the organization, renamed Federal Bureau of Investigation in 1935, has become today an organization with an almost sacred status in the country, a \$125,000,000 annual budget and 6,000 special agents throughout the country. It checks on everything from radical politics to stolen Navy bulldozers.

There is little doubt that some of this growth would have occurred because of world conditions, but there also is little doubt that it has happened the way it did because of the continuous leadership of Mr. Hoover. He has done it with the use of firm discipline (agents are careful how they dress, have their desk drawers inspected without warning to make sure all is in order), a careful detachment from partisan politics, the introduction of scientific techniques and one of the most proficient public relations operations in the American government.

## Grew With the War

The biggest enlargement of the F.B.I. came with World War II. In 1939, President Roosevelt directed the F.B.I. to coordinate all matters relating to espionage and sabotage. This caused a ten-times increase in F.B.I. manpower. It also started a rivalry between intelligence services that exists to this day.

President Roosevelt's directive expanded F.B.I. jurisdiction to include Western Europe. With the start of the war, President Roosevelt created another intelligence operation, the Office of Strategic Services, for the purpose of secret activity, as opposed to just the collection of information. Head of the O.S.S. was Gen. William Donovan.

General Donovan had been an assistant attorney general in the Department of Justice when Mr. Hoover was rising in the bureaucracy and it was no secret that he and Mr. Hoover were not the best of friends. But it

## A Charmed Life: J. Edgar Hoover

By BEN H. BAGDIKIAN

Journal-Bulletin Washington Correspondent

Washington — Today is the 37th bureaucratic anniversary of Washington's most durable agency chief, J. Edgar Hoover, and comes at a time when his trade, cops and robbers — plus clock and dagger, is under public fire.

But Mr. Hoover is not likely to suffer, since his career represents one of the most charmed and continuous bureaucratic lives in official Washington.

Furthermore, he has the comforting experience of watching his chief rival in American intelligence operations, Allan W. Dulles, head of the Central Intelligence Agency, get roasted in public and checked on in private as a result of the CIA's role in the recent Cuban invasion failure.

Some have speculated that Mr. Hoover might even succeed Mr. Dulles as head of CIA. But this is highly unlikely. Although the name, J. Edgar



J. Edgar Hoover

although he has almost single-handedly raised the status of detective to one of Chief Hero in America society, it is not likely that he or his agency will benefit substantially from any changes in the structure of CIA.

Mr. Hoover, now 66, first went to work for the government as a messenger in the Library of Congress, studied law at night at George Washington University and then became a file clerk in the Department of Justice. In 1919 he became a special assistant to Attorney General A. Mitchell Palmer for the mass deportation of aliens, an episode Mr. Hoover is said to look back on unhappily.

By the early 1920s gross corruption in government, including the Department of Justice, called for a clean sweep. A new attorney general, Harlan F. Stone, asked John Edgar Hoover, then 29, to become acting director of the Department's

Continued on Page 19, Col. 3

Hoover, since his accession to chief of the Bureau of Investigation on May 10, 1924, has become a household phrase, and

*See that Bagdikian is not on our mailing list & get no co. I operation.*

EX-110

REC-64

17 JUN 13 1961

CLOSURE

62

8/14



is unlikely that this was the basic cause of F.B.I.-O.S.S. hostility. It is more likely that rival secret police organizations hate each other fiercely because they operate in private and do not have to be held accountable for their relations.

There were areas where the F.B.I. and O.S.S. overlapped in function and at times they spoiled each other's operations against suspected enemy agents. This is not unknown among other intelligence agencies.

#### Postwar Readjustment

As the war's end approached, it became plain that some permanent worldwide intelligence system would be needed in the postwar period. Late in 1944, President Roosevelt asked General Donovan to draw up plans for such an agency.

What General Donovan proposed was essentially the Central Intelligence Agency, which would collect and direct intelligence activity outside the United States, work then being conducted by half a dozen separate and often rival groups, including at least one each from the three armed services, the F.B.I., the State Department, Treasury, private concerns and others. General Donovan's top secret report was famous for yet another reason: It was the basis for one of the biggest leaks of wartime secrets.

General Donovan issued four copies. One went to President Roosevelt, one to the Joint Chiefs of Staff, one to the O.S.S. and one to J. Edgar Hoover. General Donovan, expecting some bureaucratic infighting, put each of the four reports in slightly different language, although their substance was the same.

On Feb. 9, 1945, the Chicago Tribune, an anti-Roosevelt newspaper, published the secret report, calling it a plan of the New Deal "to pry into the lives of citizens at home." O.S.S. men insist that the language of the Chicago Tribune story was from the J. Edgar Hoover copy of the report.

#### F.B.I. Operations Shrink

The C.I.A. was created in 1947 and forced the F.B.I. to retire from most of its foreign operations. The F.B.I. and C.I.A. have quietly warred on each other ever since.

Thus, one can imagine that J. Edgar Hoover, beginning his 38th year as chief of his agency, looks with some interest at his chief rival, Mr. Dulles, being buffeted in his 8th year. Mr. Dulles, 68, had planned to re-

ally conceded that because C.I.A. intelligence is blamed for some of the Cuban invasion failures some of the subchiefs at C.I.A. will go also. The C.I.A. has been criticized for being insufficiently sophisticated in world politics, its agents too old-school-tie, and Mr. Dulles too prone to speechmaking.

However, these are not very different from the criticisms that occasionally are made of the F.B.I. Mr. Hoover's politics, while carefully nonpartisan, have tended to be compounded of rigid conservatism and sentimentality, his agents detectives rather than political analysts, and Mr. Hoover himself an indefatigable speechmaker and warning-issuer, with such declarations regularly pressed upon local newspapers and civic clubs by his 6,000 special agents.

#### Criticism Unusual

It is not common to see public criticism of Mr. Hoover, but it has occurred from time to time. The late Sen. George W. Norris said, "Mr. Hoover has an organization, maintained at public expense, writing speeches for him. . . . When he makes a speech, a copy is sent to practically every newspaper in the United States. . . . A detective who advertises his exploits every time he gets an opportunity. . . . will in the end be a failure."

Other national figures in intelligence operations have from time to time criticized Mr. Hoover or the F.B.I. The former chief of Treasury intelligence, Elmer Irey, in a book declared that Mr. Hoover often took credit for successes that other agencies accomplished. James Lawrence Fly, former chairman of the Federal Communications Commission and onetime Justice Department official, has said, "Hoover sets his F.B.I. above the law and moves in defiance of the Supreme Court." The New York Times once said that F.B.I. possession of dossiers on each national lawmaker constitutes "possessive powers over Congress."

But the overwhelming popular expression about Mr. Hoover is one close to adulation. One of his most ardent admirers, former U.S. Attorney General J. Howard McGrath of Rhode Island, once said, "The American people simply will not countenance any criticism of J. Edgar Hoover."

Despite impending changes in American secret operations and the 37th anniversary of the Hoover F.B.I., the bureau yesterday appeared normal. Mr. Hoover, a bachelor who likes Lawrence Welk and the Dick Tracy comic strip, was planning no special observance.

"Just another day at the Bureau," an aide said.

July 20, 1967

BY LIAISON

Mrs. Mildred Stegall  
The White House  
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mrs. Stegall:

Reference is made to your name check request concerning Norman A. Cherniss, Editor, "Press-Enterprise," Riverside, California, and Ben H. Bagdikian.

Mr. Norman A. Cherniss, who was born on July 16, 1923, at Council Bluffs, Iowa, has not been the subject of an investigation by the FBI, and our files reveal no derogatory information concerning him.

In December, 1953, information was received indicating that Mr. Cherniss resided at 2423 Orange Street, Riverside, California, and his marital status was described as "single." Information available to the FBI reveals that Mr. Cherniss has been associated with the "Press-Enterprise" since at least 1950.

The fingerprint files of the Identification Division of the FBI contain no arrest data identifiable with Mr. Cherniss based upon background information submitted in connection with this name check request.

Mr. Ben Haig Bagdikian, a contributing writer of "The Saturday Evening Post" magazine, who was born on January 30, 1920, in Marash, Turkey, has not been the subject of an investigation by the FBI. However, our files reveal that Mr. Bagdikian, who entered the United States at New York City in June, 1920, and subsequently obtained his citizenship on a derivative basis through his father, Aram Theodore Bagdikian, wrote a series of newspaper articles in June, 1953, which were critical of several phases of loyalty investigations concerning Government employees.

1 - Mr. DeLoach (sent direct)  
1 - Mr. Gale (sent direct)

1 - Mr. Rosen (sent direct)

Delivered to Mildred Stegall  
on 7-23-67

NOT RECORDED

176 JUL 24 1967

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

ORIGINAL FILED IN 9-41524-7

Mrs. Mildred Stegall

In 1952 information was received indicating that the Reverend A. T. Bagdikian, Worcester, Massachusetts, was on the mailing list of the "Liberator" newspaper, which has been described as the official publication of the Armenian Progressive League of America, an organization designated pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

Civil fingerprints were located in the files of the FBI Identification Division which may be identical with those of Ben H. Bagdikian. These fingerprints were searched through the criminal files of the Identification Division and no arrest record was located.

A copy of this communication has not been sent to the Attorney General.

Sincerely yours,

EX-114  
REC-53

62-1-177-11

February 26, 1964

FEB 26 6 24 PM '64  
REC'D-READING ROOM  
FBI  
b6  
b7C

[Redacted]  
[Redacted] Kentucky

Dear [Redacted]

Your letter of February 19th, with enclosures, has been received.

Although I would like to be of service to you, information contained in the files of the FBI must be maintained as confidential in accordance with regulations of the Department of Justice and is available for official use only. I regret I am unable to be of help in this instance but trust you will understand the reasons for this policy.

Sincerely yours,

J. Edgar Hoover  
John Edgar Hoover  
Director

MAILED 5  
FEB 27 1964  
COMM-FBI

1 - Louisville - Enclosures (3)

NOTE: Correspondent is not identifiable in Bufiles. Ben Haig Bagdikian is well known in Bufiles as a writer who has criticized the FBI in the past. He has made snide remarks relative to Mr. Hoover and some of his work has been described as "utter bunk." 62-94717

DTP:med  
(4)

- Tolson \_\_\_\_\_
- Belmont \_\_\_\_\_
- Mohr \_\_\_\_\_
- Casper \_\_\_\_\_
- Callahan \_\_\_\_\_
- Conrad \_\_\_\_\_
- DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_
- Evans \_\_\_\_\_
- Gale \_\_\_\_\_
- Rosen \_\_\_\_\_
- Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_
- Tavel \_\_\_\_\_
- Trotter \_\_\_\_\_
- Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_
- Holmes \_\_\_\_\_
- Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

MAR 6 1964

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

[REDACTED]  
**CARPENTER AND GENERAL CONTRACTOR**  
[REDACTED]  
[REDACTED] KY.  
110

Feb. 19, 1964

Hon. J. Edgar Hoover,  
Chief of the F. B. I.,  
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Hoover:-

*ott*  
On Dec. 21, 1963 I addressed a letter to our  
Governor Edward T. Breathitt of the Commonwealth of Kentucky and again  
on Jan. 23, 1964, copies of which I am enclosing and to this date have  
had no reply.

Certainly I know it is the Governor's privilege to  
ignore my letters, however it is not my intention to overlook a rumor  
that suggests Communists are at work in Kentucky and to add insult to  
injury feeding our people.

Is this in fact a rumor or is there some truth to  
it.

As an American I would like to know and as a native  
Kentuckian I should know.

Respectfully yours,

[REDACTED]

EX-114

REC- 53

62-94717-11

11 FEB 28 1964

*B*  
ENCLOSURE

ack 2-21-64  
DTP/mch

3 xerox copies  
2-21-64  
mch

CORRESPONDENCE

p26

C O P Y

[REDACTED]  
CARPENTER AND GENERAL CONTRACTOR  
[REDACTED]  
[REDACTED] KY.  
110

Dec. 21, 1963

Hon. Edward T. Breathitt,  
Governor of the Commonwealth of Ky.,  
Frankfort, Ky.

Dear Gov. Breathitt:-

Congratulations on your recent victory, and may  
you have a very successful administration.

b6  
b7c

I was very much concerned and somewhat taken back  
after reading an article, The Invisible Americans, by Ben H. Bagdikian  
in the Saturday Evening Post Dec. 21-28 issue and I would like to quote  
from the article the part that disturbs me. Quote:- There are persistent  
rumors that Communists are running food and propaganda into the starving  
populations of Kentucky and West Virginia. It would be ironic if they  
should undermine a proud peoples faith in the future, and in the midst  
of a country that has a strong tradition for helping the unfortunate.  
End Quote.

Rumors are vicious and can be very damaging and I  
take that attitude about the rumor in Mr. Bagdikian's article. However,  
I feel it your duty to take immediate action to have this rumor checked  
out and tell the citizens of Kentucky and the United States the rumor  
was in fact untrue. God forbid the reverse.

If there is anything an ordinary citizen can do in  
a matter such as this, I am available in any capacity.

Respectfully yours,

[REDACTED]  
C O P Y

ENCLOSURE 62-94717-11

C O P Y

[REDACTED]  
CARPENTER AND GENERAL CONTRACTOR

b6  
b7C

[REDACTED]  
[REDACTED] KY.

110

Jan. 23, 1964.

Hon. Edward T. Breathitt,  
Governor, Commonwealth of Ky.  
Frankfort, Ky.

Dear Gov. Breathitt:-

*att*  
On Dec. 21, 1963 I wrote you concerning an article  
"The Invisible Americans" by Ben H. Bagdikian in the Saturday  
Evening Post, Dec. 21-28 issue, in which he stated, quote:  
"There are persistent rumors that Communists are running food  
and propaganda into the starving population of Kentucky."  
End quote.

To date my letter has not been acknowledged.

I would certainly appreciate hearing your feelings  
concerning these rumors.

It is my intention to pursue this matter until I  
get a satisfactory answer from someone in authority who would  
know whether or not this statement by Bagdikian is rumor or  
truth.

Respectfully yours,

C O P Y

ENCLOSURE

62-94717-11



MAILED

OCT 3 1967

NAME CHECK

October 2, 1967

BEN HAIG BAGDIKIAN  
Born: January 30, 1920  
Marash, Turkey

No investigation pertinent to your inquiry has been conducted by the FBI concerning the captioned individual. The files of this Bureau, however, reveal the following information which may relate to the subject of your name check request.

Ben H. Bagdikian wrote a series of newspaper articles in June, 1955, which were critical of several phases of loyalty investigations concerning government employees. The files reveal that Bagdikian entered the United States at New York City in June, 1920, and subsequently obtained his citizenship on a derivative basis through his father, Aram Theodore Bagdikian.

In 1952, information was received indicating that the Reverend A.T. Bagdikian, Worcester, Massachusetts, was on the mailing list of the "Liberator" newspaper, which has been described as the official publication of the Armenian Progressive League of America, an organization designated pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

(62-94717)

Original and 1 - NACC - DISCO  
Request Received - 9/11/67

WLP:wdd  
(4)

NOTE: Above data taken from letter to White House, 7/20/67, in answer to name checks on Bagdikian and another individual.

REC 5

1 copy to [redacted] wdc/hub  
9/23/68  
9-11-91-7  
7-17-12  
OCT 3 1967

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency. This reply is result of check of FBI investigative files. To check arrest records, request must be submitted to FBI Identification Division. Fingerprints are necessary for positive check.

53 OCT 3 1967

SEE [redacted]  
ADD. [redacted]

Photo  
CC TO: State (Cw) (ARA)  
REQ. REC'D 2-3-72  
FEB 15 1972  
ANS.  
BY: ALF A2H

Photo  
CC TO: U.S. A  
REQ. REC'D 7-29-75  
AUG 8 1975  
ANS.  
BY: WRJ/PGG

PHOTO  
CC TO: OSC - NFAH  
REQ. REC'D 9-10  
SEP 11 1968  
ANS.  
BY: DIM SPO  
Re Subject

## SEARCH SLIP

Subj: William Henry HarrisonR# 11Date 1/11Searcher  
Number 21Prod: 2c/g: 19 FILE NUMBERSERIAL~~AD~~ 102-94717I~~LP~~ 102-94717-10 Ser. 6/29/61John H.~~II~~ 102-94717-~~NP~~ 62-30750-ADOC 11-6-63  
N.Y. Times~~NP~~ 97-3835-32

b3

b7E

~~NP~~ 102-94717, 1/30/65, 6/21R113/91

NUMEROUS REFERENCE

## SEARCH SLIP

Subj: Quedjian, Ben H.

Supervisor \_\_\_\_\_ Room \_\_\_\_\_

R# 171 Date 9/11 Searcher Initial 38

Prod. \_\_\_\_\_

FILE NUMBERSERIALBen H.AP[Redacted]NP140-0-A Prod 3-28-55AP140-0-A Wash. State 6/29/55NP140-0- 16/92Don

b3

LI62-94717

b7E

I62-94717-1 Sum 1951NP[Redacted]NPNP140-0- 1-193

SEP 18 1962

111  
111

4410 ALBEMARLE ST. N.W.  
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20016

March 28, 1975

Director  
Federal Bureau of Investigation  
Ninth Street and Pennsylvania Avenue, NW  
Washington, D.C. 20535

Dear Sir:

As provided for under the Freedom of  
Information Act, I hereby request all material in  
my FBI file and any other material pertaining to me  
in FBI files.

I reside as indicated above, at 4410  
Albemarle St. NW, Washington, D.C. 20016, and my  
Social Security number is 014-16-0205.

Sincerely,

*Ben H. Bagdikian*  
Ben H. Bagdikian

ST-111

REC 8

*62-94717-12x*

*62-115530-430*

6 APR 16 1975

LEGAL COUNSEL

62-94717-12X

REC 8

APR 19, 1975

Mr. John W. Sullivan  
4410 Wisconsin Avenue, N.W.  
Washington, D. C. 20016

Dear Mr. Sullivan:

Your letter addressed to the Federal Bureau of Investigation was received on ~~April 17, 1975~~. To ascertain whether we do or do not have information identifiable with you in our records, it would be helpful if you would furnish your date and place of birth, Social Security number, and any additional data which you may wish to include that would assist in conducting an accurate search of our central records.

I must advise you, however, that furnishing background data will not, in itself, assure that you will receive the information you desire, as we are guided by the provisions of the Freedom of Information Act in disclosing the contents of our records.

If you desire a search of our Identification Division records, please comply with the instructions set forth in Attorney General Order 556-73, a copy of which is enclosed.

Sincerely yours,

C. M. Kelley

Clarence M. Kelley  
Director

Enclosure

1 - Mr. Deputy Attorney General - Enclosure  
(Attention: Mr. [unclear])

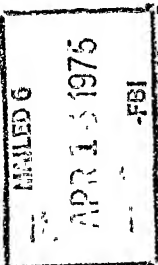
1 - Mr. [unclear] (FBI-RECORDS)

cc: [unclear]

MAIL ROOM ☐TELETYPE UNIT ☐

APR 30 1975 cpm

RAB 1039



jen

Federal Bureau of Investigation  
Records Section

File Review 2 hrs

, 19\_\_

☐ Name Searching Unit, 4543 JEH-FBI Bldg.☐ Service Unit, 4654 JEH-FBI Bldg.☐ Forward to File Review☐ Attention☒ Return to

Supervisor

Room

Ext. 3565

b6

b7C

## Type of References Requested:

☐ Regular Request (Analytical Search)☐ All References (Subversive & Nonsubversive)☐ Subversive References Only☐ Nonsubversive References Only☐ Main \_\_\_\_\_ References Only

## Type of Search Requested:

☐ Restricted to Locality of \_\_\_\_\_☐ Exact Name Only (On the Nose)☐ Buildup☐ VariationsSubject Ben H. Bagdikian

Birthdate &amp; Place \_\_\_\_\_

Address \_\_\_\_\_

Localities DCR# 12Date 4-1-75

Searcher

Initials anfProd. 12

FILE NUMBER

SERIAL

|     |                              |
|-----|------------------------------|
| ✓ I | 62 - 94717                   |
| ✓ I | 62 - 80750 - A               |
|     | NY Times DOC 11-6-63         |
| ✓ I | [REDACTED]                   |
| ✓ I | 97 - 3835 - 32               |
| ✓ I | [REDACTED]                   |
| ✓ I | [REDACTED]                   |
|     | NY 1-30-65 page 26 b7E       |
|     | no paper given               |
|     | Editor & Publisher, NY, 11/4 |
|     | DOC 2-11-65                  |
| ✓ I | [REDACTED]                   |
| ✓ I | 140 - 0 - A                  |
|     | Providence Journal 3/28/55   |
| ✓ I | 140 - 0 - A                  |
|     | Wash. Star 5/29/55           |
| ✓ I | 140 - 0 - 16192              |
| ✓ I | 157 - 8428 - 437             |
| ✓ I | 161 - 5218 - 5               |



SEARCH SLIP

Subj: \_\_\_\_\_

Supervisor \_\_\_\_\_ Room \_\_\_\_\_

R# 125 Date \_\_\_\_\_ Searcher Initial \_\_\_\_\_

Prod. 30 \_\_\_\_\_

FILE NUMBER

SERIAL

Bern Hard

✓ I 62-94717-10 5/23/61 sum b3 b7E

✓ I " " -12 10-2-67

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✓ I [REDACTED]

✓ I 12 5 21106

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✓ I [REDACTED]  
✓ I [REDACTED]  
✓ I [REDACTED]

✓ I 161-5218-5

Bern

✓ I 62-94717-1 (5-51) sum

II 52-94527-2892 535

✓ I [REDACTED]  
✓ I [REDACTED]  
✓ I [REDACTED]

✓ I 140-0-16193

✓ I [REDACTED]  
✓ I [REDACTED]

✓ I 161-5218-5

✓ I [REDACTED]  
✓ I [REDACTED]  
✓ I [REDACTED]  
✓ I [REDACTED]  
✓ I [REDACTED]

REC-78 EX-116

August 4, 1975

~~62-115550-111~~  
62-94717-12x1  
Mr. Ben H. Bagdikian  
4410 Albemarle Street, N. W.  
Washington, D. C. 20016

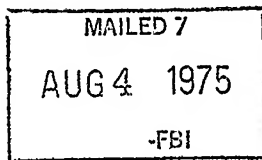
Dear Mr. Bagdikian:

Reference is made to my letter dated June 25, 1975.

Please be advised a search of our central files, based on the information you provided, has revealed a number of references under names similar to your own. Processing of these records to determine whether or not they are identical with you is proceeding, but as a result of the heavy volume of Freedom of Information Act requests which the FBI continues to receive, additional time is needed for completion.

Your cooperation in this matter has been appreciated. You may be assured that every effort is being made to complete the processing of the above material as soon as possible. You will be advised of our progress within 30 working days.

Sincerely yours,



C. M. Kelley  
Clarence M. Kelley  
Director

1 - The Deputy Attorney General  
Attention: Susan M. Hauser

NOTE: Correspondent is subject of Bufile 62-94717 and his name appears in case files pertaining to other subjects.

per:evp (5)

MAR 12 1976

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

5442a

GPO b6 b7C

Assoc. Dir. \_\_\_\_\_  
Dep. AD Adm. \_\_\_\_\_  
Dep. AD Inv. \_\_\_\_\_  
Asst. Dir.:  
Admin. \_\_\_\_\_  
Comp. Syst. \_\_\_\_\_  
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Plan. & Eval. \_\_\_\_\_  
Spec. Inv. \_\_\_\_\_  
Training \_\_\_\_\_  
Legal Coun. \_\_\_\_\_  
Telephone Rm. \_\_\_\_\_  
Director Sec'y \_\_\_\_\_

June 25, 1975

REC-78

EX-116

~~62-11555-111~~  
62-94717-12X1  
Mr. Ben H. Bagdikian  
4410 Albemarle Street, N. W.  
Washington, D. C. 20016

Dear Mr. Bagdikian:

Reference is made to my letter dated May 6th.

Please be advised that your request is being processed; however, because of the unprecedented interest generated by the amendments to the Freedom of Information Act, as was indicated in my previous letter, our workload has increased tremendously, necessitating some delay in our response to requests for information.

Be assured that we will make every effort to complete the processing of your request as soon as possible and you will be advised within thirty working days of our progress.

Sincerely yours,

G. M. Kelley  
Clarence M. Kelley  
Director

1 - The Deputy Attorney General  
Attention: Susan M. Hauser

NOTE: Bufiles indicate correspondent is subject of 62-94717 and his name appears in numerous files on other subjects. He is well known in Bufiles as a writer who has criticized the FBI in the past.

cer:mrs (5)

Assoc. Dir. \_\_\_\_\_  
Dep. AD Adm. \_\_\_\_\_  
Dep. AD Inv. \_\_\_\_\_  
Asst. Dir.: \_\_\_\_\_  
Admin. \_\_\_\_\_  
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Legal Coun. \_\_\_\_\_  
Telephone Rm. \_\_\_\_\_  
Director Sec'y \_\_\_\_\_

MAIL ROOM ☒ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

MAY 6, 1973

62-94717-12x1

REF ID: A62-115530-1111

Mr. Sam T. Bogdikian  
4410 Albemarle Street, N. W.  
Washington, D. C. 20016

EX 104

Dear Mr. Bogdikian:

This is to acknowledge your recently received Freedom of Information Act request.

Due to the increased interest generated by the amendments to the Freedom of Information Act, it is necessary to advise you that an extension of time is needed to process your request.

You may be assured that every feasible effort will be made to comply with your request within working days and you will be advised of the results as soon as possible.

Sincerely yours,

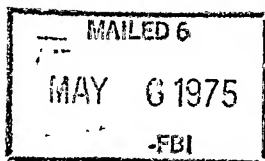
C. M. Kelley

Clarence M. Kelley  
Director

1 - The Deputy Attorney General - Enclosure  
Attention: [redacted]

1 - Bufile 62-115530 (FOI-REFUSED)

cer:rcl (5)



MAIL ROOM ☒

TELETYPE UNIT ☐

b6  
b7C

4410 ALBEMARLE ST. N.W.  
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20016

April 18, 1975

Clarence M. Kelley  
Director  
Federal Bureau of Investigation  
Washington, D.C. 20535

|                |                                     |
|----------------|-------------------------------------|
| Assoc. Dir.    | _____                               |
| Dep.-A.D.-Adm. | _____                               |
| Dep.-A.D.-Inv. | _____                               |
| Asst. Dir.:    |                                     |
| Admin.         | _____                               |
| Comp. Syst.    | _____                               |
| Ext. Affairs   | _____                               |
| Files & Com.   | _____                               |
| Gen. Inv.      | _____                               |
| Ident.         | _____                               |
| Inspection     | _____                               |
| Intell.        | _____                               |
| Laboratory     | _____                               |
| Plan. & Eval.  | _____                               |
| Spec. Inv.     | _____                               |
| Training       | _____                               |
| Legal Coun.    | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> |
| Telephone Rm.  | _____                               |
| Director Sec'y | _____                               |

Dear Mr. Kelley:

In reply to your April 15 letter informing me of the Bureau's need for additional information in order to meet my request for my file contents under the Freedom of Information Act, as amended, I append the following:

My name: Ben Haig Bagdikian  
Born: January 30, 1920  
Place of birth: Marash, Turkey  
Social Security No.: 014-16-0205  
Employment: Self-employed writer and researcher, lecturer; and Research Fellow, The American University

4410 Albemarle St. N.W.

WASHINGTON, D.C.

Sincerely,

*Ben H. Bagdikian*  
Ben H. Bagdikian

62-94717-12X1

62-115530-111

REC-9

EX 104

MAY 7 1975

ACK  
5-6-75  
Cer: nch

18-2-8  
San: qch

LEGAL COUNSEL  
b6  
b7C

Date: October 22, 1975

BY COURIER SERVICE

To:

Chief of Freedom of Information Act Unit  
Criminal Division  
United States Department of Justice  
6100 Federal Triangle Building  
Washington, D. C.

b6  
b7C

15  
From: Clarence M. Felley, Director

Subject: FREEDOM OF INFORMATION ACT (FOIA)  
REQUEST OF DEI HAIG MAGDIRIN

Enclosed for your information are a copy of the above FOIA request and a copy of a document originating with the Department of Justice which is being referred to your office for such action as may be appropriate. The requester will be notified of this referral, and it is requested you correspond directly with him regarding this document.

Enclosures (2)

1 - The Deputy Attorney General - Enclosure  
Attention: [redacted]

cc: cag (6)  
*Cag*

**CONFIDENTIAL MATERIAL ATTACHED**

Stamped on original

REC-78

62-79717-14

MAILED 6  
OCT 23 1975  
FBI

Assoc. Dir. \_\_\_\_\_  
Dep. AD Adm. \_\_\_\_\_  
Dep. AD Inv. \_\_\_\_\_  
Asst. Dir.:  
Admin. \_\_\_\_\_  
Comp. Syst. \_\_\_\_\_  
Ext. Affairs \_\_\_\_\_  
Files & Com. \_\_\_\_\_  
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Plan. & Eval. \_\_\_\_\_  
Spec. Inv. \_\_\_\_\_  
Training \_\_\_\_\_  
Legal Coun. \_\_\_\_\_  
Telephone Rm. \_\_\_\_\_  
Director Sec'y \_\_\_\_\_

MAIL ROOM ☒

TELETYPE UNIT ☐



11 NOV 1975

Mr. Ben H. Bagdikian  
4410 Albemarle Street, N.W.  
Washington, D. C. 20016

Dear Mr. Bagdikian:

This is in response to your request to the Federal Bureau of Investigation, under the provisions of the Freedom of Information Act, for all material in your FBI file and any other material pertaining to you in FBI files.

Although the Criminal Division has no file on you, a single document originated within the Department of Justice, in which you are mentioned only briefly, has been referred to us by the FBI for our review. That portion of the document referring to you, while exempt from disclosure, is being released as a matter of administrative discretion.

Access to the remaining portions of the document is hereby denied, as it is exempt from public disclosure under the Freedom of Information Act, specifically, exemptions (5) inter-agency or intra-agency memorandums or letters which would not be available by law to a party other than an agency in litigation with the agency; (6) personnel and medical files and similar files the disclosure of which would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy; (7) investigatory records compiled for law enforcement purposes, but only to the extent that the production of such records would (C) constitute an unwarranted invasion of personal privacy, (D) disclose the identity of a ~~confidential~~ source and, in the case of a record compiled by a criminal law enforcement authority in the course of a criminal investigation, or by an agency conducting a lawful national security intelligence investigation, ~~confidential~~ information furnished only by the ~~confidential~~ source.

REC-78

62-9447-15 MAR 4 1976

cc: FBI/FOI

Attn:

EX-116

59 MAR 12 1976

FOIA

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b7c

You may appeal this denial within thirty days by writing to the Attorney General (Attention: Freedom of Information Appeals Unit) Department of Justice, Washington, D. C. 20530. Both the letter and the envelope should be clearly marked "Freedom of Information Appeal." Thereafter, judicial review will be available either in the district in which you reside or have a place of business, or in the District of Columbia.

Sincerely,

KEVIN T. MARONEY  
Deputy Assistant Attorney General

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO : Mr. WANNALL *Wannall*

DATE: 12/8/75

FROM : Mr. McDermott *McDermott*

SUBJECT: FREEDOM OF INFORMATION ACT (FOIA) REQUEST  
RE: Ben Haig Bagdikian

Assoc. Dir. \_\_\_\_\_  
Dep. AD Adm. \_\_\_\_\_  
Dep. AD Inv. \_\_\_\_\_  
Asst. Dir.: \_\_\_\_\_  
Admin. \_\_\_\_\_  
Comp. Syst. \_\_\_\_\_  
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Files & Com. \_\_\_\_\_  
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Inspection \_\_\_\_\_  
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Plan. & Eval. \_\_\_\_\_  
Spec. Inv. \_\_\_\_\_  
Training \_\_\_\_\_  
Telephone Rm. \_\_\_\_\_  
Director Sec'y \_\_\_\_\_

Attached is a copy of the FOIA request and pertinent files and/or excised documents which appear subject to disclosure.

Addendum should include total Agent time expended in the review.

Please make every effort to insure that this memorandum, with its attached documents, is returned to the FOIA Section within (x) working days.

Questions on this matter should be discussed with , Room 5442 JEH, extension 5770.

b6  
b7c

RECOMMENDATION(S): (only items checked apply)

(x) 1. That the Intelligence Division(s) review the excised document(s) to insure sufficient deletions have been made. Please explain briefly the reason for any additional deletions requested. If the materials proposed for disclosure are from a classified serial, insure that all portions which justified the classification have been deleted. *D*

(x) 2. That the Intelligence Division:  
(x)a. Review the classification of serial(s) see attached list to insure documents should remain classified, indicating on the file copies which paragraphs are classified; which paragraphs, if any, are unclassified; and those which have been declassified in their entirety. Addendum should note any newly declassified serials.

( ) b. Review the balance of the file to determine if currently unclassified serials warrant classification. Newly classified serials should also have indicated on the file copies the classified and unclassified paragraphs. Addendum should note any newly classified serials.

1 - Mr. WANNALL  
Attention: Mr.

1 - Mr.   
Attention: Mr.

1 - Mr. Bassett  
Attention: Mr.

REC-78

EX-116

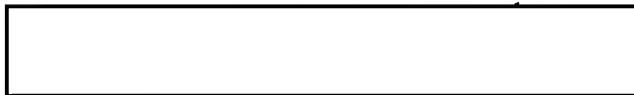
SEE ADDENDUM PAGE 3

b6  
b7c

FOIA

BEN HAIG BAGDIKIAN

Serials classified-



157-8428-437

b3  
b7E

ADDENDUM: Intelligence Division

RDH:med

12/11/75

The following serials were reviewed, and the following changes were made concerning their classification:

[redacted] pages 112 through 119 (Los Angeles report dated 7/9/71, entitled "Daniel Ellsberg, Espionage - X") have been marked unclassified even though the report in which they are contained is marked "Secret." This does not necessitate any notification to the field.

b3  
b7E

[redacted] (New York report dated 5/29/58, entitled "Milton Ellerin, Internal Security - Israel") should remain "Secret" and each paragraph of the file copy has been marked either unclassified or "Secret." Those paragraphs marked "Secret" in this 11-page report are classified "Secret, XGDS 2, Indefinite" as they contain information from sensitive sources whose identities could be disclosed through unauthorized disclosure of this information. No notification to the field is necessary.

157-8428-437 (Cincinnati LHM dated 3/20/68, entitled "Washington Spring Project") should remain classified "Confidential, XGDS 2, Indefinite," as it contains information from confidential source whose identity could be disclosed through unauthorized disclosure of this information. However, paragraph one of this LHM is the only paragraph which warrants classification. The rest of the paragraphs in the document are unclassified. This does not require notice to the field.

The following documents, in excised form, were reviewed, and it is felt that the excisions are warranted and no additional excisions, as performed by the FOIA Unit, are necessary:

Boston letter to the Bureau 7/24/59 entitled "George Lincoln Rockwell, Registration Act - United Arab Republic";

New York report dated 5/30/72 entitled "Daniel Ellsberg; Anthony Joseph Russo, Jr., Conspiracy, Theft of Government Property, Espionage," page 3;

New York LHM to the Bureau 10/12/71 entitled "Daniel Ellsberg, Espionage - X," page 1;

New York airtel to the Bureau 10/12/71 entitled "Mc Lek - SIO";

Boston letter to the Bureau 3/25/60 entitled "Unsub; aka 'The Patriot, ' Racial Matters," page 1 and 2;

Memphis report dated 5/3/60 entitled "Unknown Subject; aka 'The Patriot, ' Racial Matters," pages 1, 2 and 3.

Cincinnati LHM dated 3/20/68 entitled "Washington Spring Project."

Agent time - 2 hours per.  1/9/76. SEL

*SS m/mw*

b6  
b7C

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

Assoc. Dir. \_\_\_\_\_  
Dep. AD Adm. \_\_\_\_\_  
Dep. AD Inv. \_\_\_\_\_  
Asst. Dir.: \_\_\_\_\_  
Admin. \_\_\_\_\_  
Comp. Syst. \_\_\_\_\_  
Ext. Affairs \_\_\_\_\_  
Files & Com. \_\_\_\_\_  
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Intell. \_\_\_\_\_  
Laboratory \_\_\_\_\_  
Legal Coun. \_\_\_\_\_  
Plan. & Eval. \_\_\_\_\_  
Spec. Inv. \_\_\_\_\_  
Training \_\_\_\_\_  
Telephone Rm. \_\_\_\_\_  
Director Sec'y \_\_\_\_\_

TO : Mr. MOORE

DATE: 12/8/75

FROM : Mr. McDermott

SUBJECT: FREEDOM OF INFORMATION ACT (FOIA) REQUEST  
RE: Ben Haig Bagdikian

Attached is a copy of the FOIA request and pertinent files and/or excised documents which appear subject to disclosure.

Addendum should include total Agent time expended in the review.

Please make every effort to insure that this memorandum, with its attached documents, is returned to the FOIA Section within (X) working days.

Questions on this matter should be discussed with [redacted], Room 5442 JEH, extension 5770.

RECOMMENDATION(S): (only items checked apply)

(x) 1. That the External Affairs Division(s) review the excised document(s) to insure sufficient deletions have been made. Please explain briefly the reason for any additional deletions requested. If the materials proposed for disclosure are from a classified serial, insure that all portions which justified the classification have been deleted.

( ) 2. That the Intelligence Division: b6  
( ) a. Review the classification of serial(s) [redacted] b7C  
to insure documents should remain classified, indicating on the file copies which paragraphs are classified; which paragraphs, if any, are unclassified; and those which have been declassified in their entirety. Addendum should note any newly declassified serials.

( ) b. Review the balance of the file to determine if currently unclassified serials warrant classification. Newly classified serials should also have indicated on the file copies the classified and unclassified paragraphs. Addendum should note any newly classified serials.

1 - Mr. MOORE EX-116  
Attention: Mr. [redacted]

1 - Mr. [redacted]  
Attention: Mr. [redacted]

Attention: Mr. [redacted]

REC-78

62-94717-17  
MAR 4 1976

SEE ADDENDUM PAGE 2



ADDENDUM, External Affairs Division, 12/12/75, WEW:bak  
BAK

The Freedom of Information Act (FOIA) Request concerning Ben Haig Bagdikian, which is being handled under the Privacy Act, was reviewed by this Division.

Serial 62-115530-430, Bagdikian's letter to the Director dated 3/28/75, shows Mr. Farrington's name in the lower right-hand corner. This should probably be deleted.

A second serial, letter to the White House dated 7/20/67, which is from Bufile 62-94717, has the name of the person it is addressed to deleted; however, her name is shown in the salutation. This should also probably be deleted.

Forty-five minutes Agent's time was expended.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

Assoc. Dir. \_\_\_\_\_  
Dep. AD Adm. \_\_\_\_\_  
Dep. AD Inv. \_\_\_\_\_  
Asst. Dir.:  
Admin. \_\_\_\_\_  
Comp. Syst. \_\_\_\_\_  
Ext. Affairs \_\_\_\_\_  
Files & Com. \_\_\_\_\_  
Gen. Inv. \_\_\_\_\_  
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Legal Coun. \_\_\_\_\_  
Plan. & Eval. \_\_\_\_\_  
Spec. Inv. \_\_\_\_\_  
Training \_\_\_\_\_  
Telephone Rm. \_\_\_\_\_  
Director Sec'y \_\_\_\_\_

TO : Mr. CLEVELAND

DATE: 12/8/75

FROM : Mr. McDermott

SUBJECT: FREEDOM OF INFORMATION ACT (FOIA) REQUEST  
RE: Ben Haig Bagdikiam

Attached is a copy of the FOIA request and pertinent files and/or excised documents which appear subject to disclosure.

Addendum should include total Agent time expended in the review.

Please make every effort to insure that this memorandum, with its attached documents, is returned to the FOIA Section within (X) working days.

Questions on this matter should be discussed with [redacted], Room 5442 JEH, extension 5770

RECOMMENDATION(S): (only items checked apply)

(x) 1. That the Special Investigative Division(s)

review the excised document(s) to insure sufficient deletions have been made. Please explain briefly the reason for any additional deletions requested. If the materials proposed for disclosure are from a classified serial, insure that all portions which justified the classification have been deleted.

( ) 2. That the Intelligence Division:

( ) a. Review the classification of serial(s) \_\_\_\_\_ to insure documents should

remain classified, indicating on the file copies which paragraphs are classified; which paragraphs, if any, are unclassified; and those which have been declassified in their entirety. Addendum should note any newly declassified serials.

( ) b. Review the balance of the file to determine if currently unclassified serials warrant classification. Newly classified serials should also have indicated on the file copies the classified and unclassified paragraphs. Addendum should note any newly classified serials.

1 - Mr. CLEVELAND  
Attention: Mr. [redacted]

1 - Mr. [redacted]  
Attention: Mr. [redacted]

Attention: [redacted]

SEE PAGE 02 FOR ADDENDUM OF SPECIAL INVESTIGATIVE DIVISION.

59 MAR 12 1976

*WCE*  
ADDENDUM OF SPECIAL INVESTIGATIVE DIVISION WCE:mem 12-9-75.

A review of serial 140-0-16192 concerning requester, Ben Haig Bagdikian, indicates no comments by Special Investigative Division are necessary.

Agent time utilized in this review was 15 minutes.

*G RS  
Burn*

*WCE  
OK*

X-116

February 25, 1976

REC-78

62-99717-19

Mr. Ben Haig Bagdikian  
4410 Albemarle Street, N. W.  
Washington, D. C. 20016

Dear Mr. Bagdikian:

Reference is made to my letter dated December 23, 1975. This will also acknowledge receipt of your letter dated December 29th, containing your notarized signature and your check in the amount of \$8.50.

Your request for information concerning yourself has been considered in light of the provisions of both the Freedom of Information Act (FOIA) (Title 5, United States Code, Section 552) and the Privacy Act of 1974 (Title 5, United States Code, Section 552a). It has been determined by the Attorney General that requests by individuals seeking information about themselves are governed by the Privacy Act. In addition, as a matter of administrative discretion, any documents which are found to be exempt from disclosure under the Privacy Act will also be processed under the provisions of the FOIA. Through these procedures you receive the greatest degree of access authorized by both laws.

Enclosed are copies of documents from our files. Excisions have been made from these documents, and other documents have been withheld in their entirety in order to withhold materials which are exempted from disclosure by the following subsections of Title 5, United States Code, Section 552:

MAILED (b) (1)

FEB 25 1976

information which is currently and properly classified pursuant to Executive Order 11652 in the interest of the national defense or foreign policy;

869  
Assoc. Dir. \_\_\_\_\_  
Dep. AD Adm. \_\_\_\_\_  
Dep. AD Inv. \_\_\_\_\_  
Asst. Dir.:  
Admin. \_\_\_\_\_  
Comp. Syst. \_\_\_\_\_  
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Spec. Inv. \_\_\_\_\_  
Training \_\_\_\_\_  
Legal Coun. \_\_\_\_\_  
Telephone Rm. \_\_\_\_\_  
Director Sec'y \_\_\_\_\_

1 - The Deputy Attorney General - Enclosure  
Attention:

1 - SAC, Washington Field (FOIPA info)

cer:mia

(6)

ENCLOSURE

BEHIND FILE

SEE NOTE PAGE THREE.

MAIL ROOM ☐

TELETYPE UNIT ☐

Mr. Ben Haig Bagdikian

- (b) (5) inter-agency or intra-agency documents which are not available through discovery proceedings during litigation; or documents whose disclosure would have an inhibitive effect upon the development of policy and administrative direction; or which represent the work product of an attorney-client relationship;
- (b) (7) investigatory records compiled for law enforcement purposes, the disclosure of which would:
  - (C) constitute an unwarranted invasion of the personal privacy of another person;
  - (D) reveal the identity of an individual who has furnished information to the FBI under confidential circumstances or reveal information furnished only by such a person and not apparently known to the public or otherwise accessible to the FBI by overt means.

A portion of the documents from our files have been processed in accordance with Title 5, United States Code, Section 552a (Privacy Act of 1974), and the material withheld was that exempted by the following subsection of this statute:

- (k) (2) material compiled during civil investigations for law enforcement purposes and which would reveal the identity of an individual who furnished information pursuant to a promise that his identity would be held in confidence.

Mr. Don Haig Bagdikian

You have thirty days from receipt of this letter to appeal in writing to the Deputy Attorney General, United States Department of Justice, Washington, D. C. 20530, (Attention: Privacy Appeal - Denial of Access).

For your information, one document originating with the Department of Justice has been referred to that Department for their direct response to you.

Additionally, during the interim of receipt of your check, files containing information pertaining to you which had been unavailable, were located. Therefore, additional pages are included with the enclosed documents for an overall total of 93 pages. In order to preclude any further delay in connection with your request, you are not being charged for the additional eight pages included herewith.

Sincerely yours,

C. M. Kelley

Clarence M. Kelley  
Director

Enclosures (22)

NOTE: Requester, a reporter and writer who has criticized the Bureau in the past, is subject of Bufile 62-94717, a miscellaneous research file, which was processed under Privacy Act rules. The remaining incidental records were processed under the FOIA. The material originally proposed for release totaled 85 pages. During the period between solicitation of the \$8.50 duplication charge and receipt of requester's check, additional material totaling 8 pages were determined to be disclosable. The duplication fee of eighty cents is being waived as a matter of administrative discretion. On 10/13/75, [REDACTED] INS, agreed by telephone to the release of information originating with INS which is located in 62-94717-5,6. 22 documents totaling 93 pages are now being released.

b6  
b7c

4410 ALBEMARLE ST. N.W.  
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20016

December 29, 1975

Clarence M. Kelley  
Director  
Federal Bureau of Investigation  
Washington, D.C. 20535

Dear Mr. Kelley:

Thanks for your December 23 letter informing me of the availability of FBI documents pertaining to me.

As you suggested, I am enclosing a check for \$8.50 and a copy of my notarized signature.

Sincerely,

*Ben H. Bagdikian*  
Ben H. Bagdikian

Enc: Check for \$8.50  
Notarized signature  
Copy Kelley letter of 12/23/75

REC-78

EX-116

62-94717-19  
3-4  
JAN 2 1976

3- (check) ENCLOSURE

date 1/14/76  
cc: [unclear]

F.O.I.A.



December 30, 1975

I, MARIE LYTLE, a Notary Public in and for the District of Columbia, do hereby certify that Ben H. Bagdikian of 4410 Albemarle Street, N.W., Washington, D.C., appeared before me in my District of Columbia, showed proper identification and before me placed his signature on the following line.

Ben H. Bagdikian  
BEN H. BAGDIKIAN

Marie Lytle  
Notary Public  
4620 Wisconsin Ave., N.W.  
My commission expires Feb. 28, 1979.

Date; December 30, 1975

42-94717-19

ENCLOSURE